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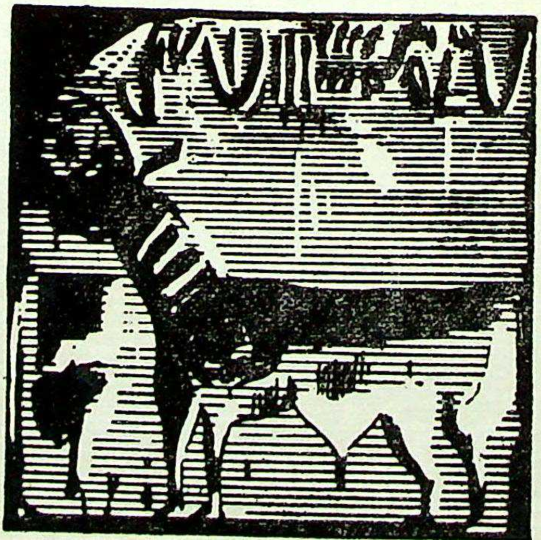

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*Edited by*
**N. N. Law**

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# The Indian Historical Quarterly

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## The Constitution of the Śākyas of Kapilavastu

In his well-known work *Buddhist India*, Rhys Davids described the constitution of the Śākyas of Kapilavastu in words that have almost become classical. "The administrative and judicial business of the clan," he wrote (*ibid*, p. 19), "was carried out in public assembly at which young and old were alike present, in their common Mote Hall (*santhāgāra*) at Kapilavastu......A single chief—how and for what period chosen, we do not know—was elected as office-holder, presiding over the sessions, and, if no sessions were sitting, over the State. He bore the title of *rāja*, which must have meant something, like the Roman consul, or the Greek archon." Rhys Davids, evidently, took the Śākya constitution to be a republic with a sovereign clan-assembly and an elected President. In recent times this view has formed the subject of keen controversy among scholars. In *Hindu Polity*, (Part I, pp. 49-50) Dr. K. P. Jayaswal quotes the above extract with approval, simply substituting 'state' for 'clan.' This definitely stamps the Śākyan republic as a territorial State instead of a mere clan-settlement. On the other hand, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, citing the reference to Bhaddiya Sakya-rājā in *Vin* II. 181, writes (*Lectures on the Early History of India*, pp. 161-162):—"There are no grounds to suppose that an office-holder was appointed by the Śākyas from time to time as Professor Rhys Davids has said......The word employed [in the Vinaya passage above quoted] is *rājā*, who in the period when Buddha lived, was not elected but hereditary, and was not a mere president, but a ruler (*sic*)...We must not suppose that the king of the Śākyas was merely the chief of a clan and had no sovereignty over any people outside his clan...The Śākya chief was not only the chief of his clan, but was a veritable ruler or Rājā." According to this view, the Śākya constitution would be a hereditary monarchy with a king ruling over all classes of subjects. Replying to the above criticism, Dr. R. C. Majumdar (*Corporate Life in Ancient India*, 2nd ed., pp. 235-238) quotes some *Jātaka* references as furnishing "conclusive evidence in favour of Professor Rhys Davids' theory that the Śākyas had a non-monarchical constitution." Bhaddiya the Sakya-rājā, he explains, cannot be looked upon as a hereditary king, as the *Jātaka* instances "hardly leave any doubt that the Śākyas, like the Licchavis, had a *number of rājas* who were probably members of the supreme assembly ruling over the state." From a reference to *uparājans* in *Jāt* v. 439, Dr. Majumdar further infers that "like the Licchavi rājās the Śākya rājās were also heads of minor administrative units." This view would bring the Śākya constitution into line with a supposed Licchavi type in which the ruling nobles were also heads of minor administrative units. Dr. Majumdar's view has found partial support in Dr. Benoy Chandra Sen who while justifying his criticism of Dr. Bhandarkar on the ground that traditions in the *Jātaka* Preambles have often been found to possess genuine historical material, does not admit that the Śākya rājās were also heads of minor administrative divisions. (*Studies in Jātakas* pp. 25-6; *JDL.*, vol. XX, 1930).

In examining these somewhat discordant views we may mention at the outset that the Śākyas appear from all indications to have advanced beyond the stage of tribal polity to that of a territorial State. We find them occupying a more or less definite territory with a fixed capital and various smaller settlements, both being (as we shall see presently) centres of administration by assemblies.[1] As regards the character of the constitution, the *Jātaka* Preambles occasionally refer to a Śākya king, but they do so in a characteristically colourless fashion. On the other hand, they contemplate as a rule the Śākya assemblies as exercising the rights of sovereign authority. Thus in the Preamble to *Jāt*. 547 (vi. 479) we are told that when the Buddha entered Kapilavatthu, the Sakya kings (*Sakya-rājāno*) gathered together to honour the chief of their clan. They inspected his residence and set guard over it. They sent the youngest girls and boys of the town followed by Princes and Princesses (*rājakumāre ca rājakumāriyo ca*) and with them escorted the Buddha to his abode. When the Buddha took his seat there, they with characteristic caste-pride asked the younger Princes (*daharadahare rājakumāre*) to do him obeisance, while they themselves sat behind without doing obeisance. When the Buddha performed a miracle for their edification, the unnamed king (*rāja*)—evidently meaning Suddhodana—recalled how he had done obeisance twice before the Master (at his birth and on the occasion of the Ploughing Festival), and he now did his obeisance for the third time. When the king had done this, not one Śākya could refrain from doing obeisance. In the above account we find the Śākya nobles (called kings) as well as junior cadets (called

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[1] For the clan-settlements of the Śākyas, see Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, s.v. Sakya

'Princes' and 'Princesses') collectively taking part in welcoming the Master. A king (no other than Śuddhodana), it is true, plays the decisive part in inducing the proud Śākyas to pay proper respect to the Master. But whether this was due to his position as supreme magistrate, or else to the moral effect of the father bowing before the son, it is impossible to say, though we may quote in favour of the former alternative the high-sounding title of *mahārājā* applied to Suddhodana in the Preamble to *Jāt*. 447 (iv. 50). A Śākya king called Bhaddiya is mentioned in the Preamble to *Jāt*. No. 10 (i. 140) as well as in *Dhp*. commentary (i. 133 ff.), but a comparison with the parallel version of the canonical texts, as we shall see presently, indicates the indefiniteness of his authority in the later account. In other *Jātaka* narratives even the pretence of a supreme magistrate is dropped and the rights of sovereignty are frankly held to be exercised by the Śākya nobles called 'kings'. In the Preamble to *Jāt*. 465 (iv. 145), the king of Kosala (Pasenadi) sends a messenger (*dūta*) to the Śākyas asking for a daughter of their family in marriage. On receiving this message the Śākyas assemble together and deliberate about the proposal. By refusing the king's request they would incur his hostility, while by complying with it they would break their family custom. Out of this dilemma they were saved by the Śākya Mahānāma who offered to send his daughter by a slave woman to the king. The king's messengers (*dūtā*), reflecting that the Śākyas were desperately proud of their birth, wanted a demonstration of the girl's Kṣatriya status, which was given to their satisfaction by a trick of the same Mahānāma. When the Kosala king's son by the slave girl (who was called Viḍūḍabha), grew up, his mother told him in reply to his questions that his maternal grandsires were the Śākya kings (Sakyarājāno). Afterwards when Viḍūḍabha came to visit his maternal relations, they decided that it was impossible to show respect to the low-born Prince. They, however, managed to receive the Prince at the *santhāgāra* without creating any suspicion in him. But at the time of his departure the secret of his birth was betrayed by the indiscretion of a slave woman. In the above, it will be observed, the Śākya nobles called 'kings' collectively exercise the sovereign rights of deliberation on public affairs, of receiving foreign ambassadors and of giving public reception to a foreign prince. On the other hand, the text is silent about any one occupying the position of a supreme head. For though Mahānāma plays the leading part throughout the proceedings, he seems to do so in his personal capacity as an individual of remarkable resourcefulness and cunning. Another late *Jātaka* account shows the collective body of Śākya kings to be in control of the internal administration and to possess the right of declaring war. We refer to the Preamble to *Jāt.* No. 536 (v. 412 ff) describing a quarrel between the Sakyas of Kapilavatthunagara and the Koliyas of Koliyanagara. In this story the Sakya and Koliya labourers, having started a quarrel about the distribution of irrigation water from the boundary river, reported to the *amaccas* employed for that kind of work (*tasmin kamme niyutta-amaccānaṃ kathesum*), and they in their turn reported to the kings (*rājakulānaṃ kathesum*). Then the Sakyas and the Koliyas sallied forth for the fight. When the Master coming upon the scene pacified the parties, they showed their gratitude by each presenting him with an escort of 250 *kumāras*. The above not only introduces us to the body of Śākya "kings" and "princes", but it contemplates the Śākyas as receiving administrative reports in the ordinary course of business and eventually as preparing for war. Another late *Jātaka* reference, viz. the Preamble to No. 465 (iv. 158), mentions *Sakyarājakula* which would definitely establish, what is implied in the foregoing references, the existence of a hereditary aristocracy among this people.

In the Preamble to *Jāt.* 536 above quoted, the author gives us what he himself calls a less authoritative version[2] of the occasion of the quarrel between the Śākyas and the Koliyas. According to this account the quarrel was started by female slaves of both communities, and then the inhabitants of the towns, the slaves and labourers, the attendants, the village headmen, the *amaccas* and the *uparājans* successively sallied forth for the fight. This description obviously would befit a pair of rival teams rather than of well-ordered states. When we consider the lateness of this account, its admitted unreliability and its inherent improbability, we may well hesitate to accept it with Dr. Majumdar as evidence of Śākya *rājās* being "also heads of minor administrative units." What little warrant exists for the view that the Licchavi constitution conformed to this supposed type has been shown elsewhere.[3]

It will appear from the above that according to the late *Jātaka* accounts the Śākya constitution was a republic with a sovereign clan-assembly and probably, though not certainly, a supreme Magistrate. We must, however, admit that according to the fundamental canons of historical criticism the late *Jātaka* evidence can only be accepted as authentic when it agrees, or at least is not in conflict with, the earlier and more reliable testimony of the canon. Now the canonical texts would seem to present the Śākya constitution in a somewhat different light. We begin with the remarkable account (*Vin*. II. 18 ff.=*Cull*. VII. 1. 3 ff.) of six noble Śākya youths with king Bhaddiya at their head renouncing the world to join the Buddhist Order. Here Bhaddiya is not only repeatedly called Sakyarājā, but is expressly stated as ruling over the Sakyas (*tena kho pana samayena Bhaddiyo Sakyarājā Sakyānaṃ rajjaṃ kāreti*). When the king is pressed by his kinsmen to join him in renouncing the world, he asks for seven days' time to make over the kingdom to his heirs (*āgamehi samma sattāhaṃ yāvāhaṃ putte ca bhātare ca rajjaṃ niyyādemi*). Afterwards, on attaining the fruition of his renunciation he contrasts his state of fear when he was a king (*pubbe me rañño santo*) with his present state of freedom from fear and anxiety, though living in the forest in solitude. Reminiscences of this story are preserved with characteristic colourlessness in the late Buddhist tradition. In *Dhp*. Commentary (i. 133 ff.) we have the story of King Bhaddiya's joining the six noble Śākya youths to enter the Buddhist Order, while in the Preamble to *Jāt*. No. 10 (*i* 140), Bhaddiya contrasts his state of fear during the days of his royalty (*rājakāla*) with his present happiness as an ascetic. But otherwise there is no hint of the nature and extent of Bhaddiya's authority.

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[2] In the original the author after quoting both versions says, "*Imamhā pana nayā purimanayo vā bahūsu aṭṭhakathāsu āgato yuttarūpo ca'ti sveva gahetabbo.*" ("But the former version, being found in many commentaries and being plausible, is to be accepted rather than the other" (Francis' tr.).

[3] See the author's paper, *The Constitution of the Licchavis of Vaiśālī*, *IHQ.*, vol. XX, No. 4, pp 338 ff.

According to Dr. Bhandarkar, (*op. cit*. p. 161), the *Vinaya* passage above cited contains the only reference to a king of the Śākyas in the Pali canon. We have however, another such reference in the course of a mythological account of six previous Buddhas put into the mouth of the Buddha in the *Mahāpadāna-suttanta* of the *Dīgha Nikāya*. Here the Buddha at the end of the account says of himself that at the present time he has king Suddhodana as his father, Māyādevī as his mother and Kapilavatthu as the capital city (Cf. *D*. ii. 7 :—*mayhaṃ bhikkhave etarahi Suddhodano nāma rājā pitā ahosi, Māyādevī mātā janettī Kapilavatthunagaraṃ rājadhānī*. The same statement is repeated further on in *D*. ii. 52). On the other hand *Vin*. i. 82-83=*Mahāvagga* i. 54, while describing the Buddha's visit to Kapilavatthu, refers simply to Suddhodana Sākya and his residence (*nivesana*). Similarly, the very old canonical text the *Sutta-Nipāta*, while narrating the visit of the *ṛṣi* Asita to Kapilavatthu to see the new-born Buddha, mentions (verse 685) Suddhodana without any title.

Does the king's position appear from the canonical passages quoted above to be so indefinite as to justify Rhys Davids' argument in favour of his theory. "We hear at one time," he says (*loc. cit*), "that Bhaddiya, a young cousin of the Buddha's was the rāja; and in another passage Śuddhodana, the Buddha's father (who is elsewhere spoken of as a simple citizen, Suddhodana the Sākiyan), is called the rāja." This argument does not seem to us to be convincing. In *D.* ii. 7 cited above the author evidently tries to bring Gautama's career into line with that of the previous Buddhas, three of whom (Vipassī, Sikhī and Vessabhū) are provided with royal fathers and capitals. By contrast with the above, the passages mentioning Suddhodana without any title are matter-of-fact descriptions. Suddhodana, then, appears to have been really no more than a private, if distinguished, citizen of the Śākya state. On the other hand, Bhaddiya 'the Sakyarāja,' according to the text above-cited not only rules over the Śākyas but also claims the right of disposing of his kingdom (*rajja*). From this it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the Śākya kingship, according to these old authorities, was single and permanent. Another argument pointing to the same result is to be found in the title *rājā* applied to Bhaddiya in the *Vinaya* passage quoted above. We may well follow Dr. Bhandarkar (*op. cit.*, p. 161) in taking this title to stand in the canonical texts for a permanent ruler and not a mere periodical office-holder[4].

From other references in the canon we learn that the Śākyas had an assembly meeting as usual at the *santhāgāra*, but, characteristically enough, not the slightest hint is conveyed about its constitution and functions. In *D.* i. 91 we are told how on a certain occasion the Śākyas young and old were seated at the *santhāgāra* when the young Brāhmaṇa Ambaṭṭha arrived in their midst only to meet with a very cold reception. Another account (*M.* i. 353 ff. and *S.* iv. 182) tells us that the Śākyas of Kapilavatthu (probably because the old building had fallen into ruin) had built a new *santhāgāra* unused as yet by anyone. Quite aptly they persuaded the Buddha, then in their midst, to use it for the first time. Far into the night the Buddha instructed the Śākyas and the function ended, according to the first text quoted above, with a discourse addressed by Ānanda to Mahānāma Śākya no doubt as the most distinguished member present. From another incidental reference we learn that even outlying settlements of the Śākyas had their assemblies. In *M.* i. 457 we are told that on one occasion the Śākyas of Cātumā had assembled together in the *santhāgāra* on some business or other (*kenacid eva karaṇīyena*). The account proceeds to state that the Śākyas saw from a distance a number of Bhikṣus going away, and hearing that they had been sent away by the Buddha, persuaded the latter to recall them.

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[4] Amplifying the above argument, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar (*loc.cit.*) says "If Bhaddiya had really been a periodic office-holder, he would have been designated not [as] rājā, but [as] Mukhya or Grāmaṇi". But neither of these terms seems to be known to the Pāli Canon in the sense of the supreme head of a republic. We have in *D.* ii. 160 and 163 the title *pāmokkha* applied to chiefs of the Mallas of Kusinārā.

To judge from the above discussion, it would seem that the older and more authentic account recognised the Śākya constitution as a monarchy with a permanent clan-chieftain and a clan-assembly. In the later and less reliable account the constitution is described essentially as an oligarchy with a sovereign clan-assembly. Considering that the Śākyas like the Licchavis, the Mallas and others claimed to be Kṣatriyas, we may express the contrast by saying in the words of Kātyāyana's gloss on Pāṇini iv. 168 that the Śākyan constitution which was an *ekarāja kṣatriya janapada* according to the earlier and more authentic tradition was transformed in the later account into a *kṣatriya saṃgha.*[5] If we have to attempt an explanation of this remarkable change, we would ascribe it to a deliberate attempt of the later compilers to assimilate the authentic constitution of the Śākyas to the most familiar type of Ancient Indian republics.

Admitting that the Śākya constitution was in fact an *ekarāja kṣatriya janapada*, it seems desirable to consider Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar's description of the same as "a most typical example" of the kind of authority referred to as *ādhipacca* over *kulas* in A. iii. 76. Now we have a typical account of the constitution of a *kula* in the *Mahāparinibbāna Suttanta* in connection with the description of the closing scenes of the Buddha's life at Kusinārā. We are there told (*D.* ii. 148) that when the Mallas went forth to visit the dying Buddha, Ānanda arranged them in *kulas* and presented each Malla with his wives, his retinue and his friends with an appropriate formula. (*itthannāmo bhanta Mallo saputto sabhariyo sapariso sāmacco Bhagavato pāde sirasā vandati*). There is not the slightest warrant for Dr. Bhandarkar's argument (*op. cit.* p. 161*n*) that the Śākyas formed a single *kula* at least in the above technical sense. In the second place, so far as we may judge from the scanty evidence at our disposal, the office of the clan-chief (*kulādhipati*) does not seem to imply any great amount of political authority. In the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* passage (iii. 76) quoted above, the Buddha, while mentioning a category of five qualities possessed by a *kulaputta*, instances the high positions occupied by such a person. The positions are those of a consecrated Kṣatriya king, a hereditary official (?), a commander of the army, a village headman, a *gaṇa*-elder and lastly, those severally enjoying authority over their *kulas*. Apparently these refer to diminishing grades of authority from that of the legitimate king downwards.[6] We have another hint of the nature of the *kulādhipati's* authority in *A.* ii. 249. This passage enumerates four causes of *kulas* having attained greatness of possession, but not lasting long: these are that they seek not for what is lost, they repair not the decayed, they eat and drink to excess, and lastly, that they put in authority a woman or a man that is vicious (*dussīlaṃ itthiṃ vā purisaṃ vā ādhipacce ṭhapenti*). From this it appears that the clan-chieftain's office was to some extent elective[7] and was open to members of either sex. In other passages the *kulapati* is credited with the power of promoting, no doubt by his example and teaching, the moral well-being of his dependants. According to *A.* iii. 44 a believing clan-chief (*saddho kulapati*) brings a five-fold growth (*scill.* in faith, in virtue, in learning, in charity, in insight) to his own folk (*antojano*). *A.* i. 152 giving a shorter version of the above says that the believing clan-chief brings a three-fold growth (*scill*, in faith, in virtue and in learning) to his *antojano*. In both texts the *antojano* is described as consisting of his wife and sons, his kith and kin, his friends and followers (*puttadārā, bandhavā 'amaccā' ñatisaṅghā* and *anujīvino*). How the clan-elders (*kula-jeṭṭhas*) including in their number no doubt the *kulādhipati* or *kulapati* were entitled to respect from their fellows is shown by *A.* i. 138 and 142. There we read that one showing no deference to the elders of his clan and no respect for father and mother, for recluses and Brāhmaṇas, was thought to be punishable by king Yama after death, while one showing such deference and respect was deemed worthy of residence among the gods. But all these passages are silent about the nature of the authority exercised by the chieftain or the elders of the clan. It therefore follows that no sufficient ground exists for identifying the Sakyan constitution as a type of what is called *ādhipacca* over *kulas*.

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[5] It deserves to be mentioned that unlike the Licchavis and the Mallas, the Sakyas are not mentioned in the texts as examples of *saṅghas* and *gaṇas*

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[7] The elective character is also suggested by the striking phrase *ye vā pana kulesu paccekādhipaccam kārenti* in *A.* iii-76 quoted above.

[6] In the original the passage runs as follows:—"*Yassa kassaci Mahānāma kulaputtassa pañca dhammā saṃvijjanti. yadi vā rañño khattiyassa muddhābhisittassa, yadi vā raṭṭhikassa pettanikassa, yadi vā senāya senāpatikassa, yadi vā gāmāgāmikassa yadi vā pūgagāmaṇikassa, ye vā pana kulesu paccekādhipaccam kārenti.* Dr. K. P. Jayswal's rendering of *rājā khattiyo muddhābhisitto* in the above as 'king-consul' (*op. cit.*, Part i, p. 89) is a gratuitous assumption.

# An Aspect of Guru Gobind Singh's Career

Guru Gobind was in his tenth year at the time of his father's tragic death. In the *Bachitra Nāṭak* (vii) he merely says that his father departed to the other world when he arrived at the age to perform his religious duties. But the Sikh chroniclers describe in some detail the great military interest which he is said to have developed from his childhood.[1] The stories need not be taken as literally true, but it is not quite improbable that the son of a warrior who had just returned from an expedition should share his father's interest in arms. Indeed, Macauliffe says. "His father (i.e., Teg Bahadur) used to...tell him that though the practice (of shooting) was meritorious, the time for putting it into effect had not yet arrived."

When Gobind received his father's last message, he said, "We will abide in Anandpur and destroy the Turks." His mother upon this cautioned silence lest some agent of the emperor should hear his words. The heroic boy replied that that was not a time for silence and concealment.[2] After his father's death he 'continued with even more diligence than before to prepare himself for his great mission'.[3] The preparation consisted in the collection of arms, practice of archery, martial exercises, musket-shooting, hunting, collection of troops, construction of a big drum, etc.[4]

Dr. I. Banerjee has given us a very interesting account of Guru Gobind's early adventures.[5] He says, "At the time of his father's death the Guru was a mere boy and as yet his resources were slender and scanty. The mighty Mughal Government had declared itself the open enemy of his faith and the first result of that open breach had been the execution of his father. It is also very probable that the Raja, in whose territories the Guru resided, also raised difficulties about his continuance there as it might involve him in troubles with the Government, and the Guru thought it better to leave the place and retire further into the hills. There he lived in seclusion for several years but suddenly quarrel broke out with Fateh Shah of Srinagar. The Guru won the battle that followed but still perhaps he did not think it convenient to remain there any longer. In the meantime circumstances had changed in Kahlur. Bhīm Chānd was now meditating rebellion against the Government or had perhaps actually rebelled. At this crisis he was only too glad to welcome the Guru back to his territories. The Guru, in his turn, readily consented, and coming to Kahlur, founded the village of Anandpur, which henceforward became the centre of his activities''. It is clear from this account that up to the time of the battle of Nadaun the Guru was acting on the defensive. Instead of destroying the Turks, he remained in concealment. Macauliffe's extracts, quoted above, probably echo the feelings of the eighteenth century Śikhs, before whose eyes the Timurid Empire was crumbling in ruins.

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[1] Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*. vol. IV, pp. 360-361, 363-364.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 383.

[3] *Ibid.*, vol. V, p. 1.

[4] *Ibid.*, vol. V, pp. 1, 3-5.

[5] *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1925: "The Early Adventures of Guru Gobind Singh."

Why did the Guru join Raja Bhīm Chānd in the latter's quarrel with the Mughal Government ? In the *Bachitra Nāṭaḳ* (vii. 38) he says, "...Miyan Khan went to Jammu and sent Alif Khan to Nadaun. Immediately quarrel broke out with Bhīm Chānd. The Raja called me to assist him in the struggle, and I joined his side''. The Guru did not merely give him military assistance; he personally took part in the fighting. He says, "Then this insignificant creature took up his gun and aimed at one of the Rajas. The Raja reeled and fell back upon the ground, so unerringly was the shot directed, but even then the angry chief thundered. I drew out four and discharged all of them. Then again I took three others and discharged them with my left hand (though) whether they struck anybody or not I do not know. Then the Almighty God hastened the end of the fight and the enemy were driven out into the river''.[6] No indication is, however, given of the causes that led to the Guru's alliance with Bhīm Chānd.

The alliance did not long survive the battle, for the Guru plundered the village of Alsun (situated within Bhīm Chānd's territory) on his way to Anandpur[7]. We do not know what caused this breach. After this the Guru became the target of the Mughal officers. Here again we are quite in the dark about the cause. Dr. Banerjee suggests that the Hill Rajas made their terms with the Mughals, leaving the Guru in the lurch. This is a very reasonable explanation. He also suggests that the expeditions of Miyan Khan, Dilawar Khan's son, Husain Khan and Jujhar Singh form 'so many links in a single chain,' and that, when the news of their defeats reached Aurangzib in the Deccan, "he became very angry and sent one of his own sons to the Punjab to set the matter right.'' It is important to note that Sir Jadunath Sarkar's chapter on 'Disorders in Northern India' during Aurangzib's long sojourn in the Deccan[8] does not contain a single reference to these successive expeditions against the Hill Rajas of the Punjab.

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[6] *Bachitra Nāṭak*, ix. 17-19. I have used Dr. Banerjee's translation of the passages quoted in his article.

[7] Macauliffe, vol, V, pp. 54-55. [8] *History of Aurangzib*, vol. V, ch. LIX.

although some details about petty rebellions (*e.g.*, Gangaram Nagar's rebellion in Bihar) have been added there. It seems that the importance attached to the Hill Rajas and their ally, Guru Gobind, in the Sikh chronicles is much exaggerated, for the Persian histories are silent on the matter. Shah Alam governed the Punjab for about three years (July 1696—May 1699).[9] There is no evidence, apart from the Guru's statement in the *Bachitra Nāṭak*, to show that the Shahzada[10] was specially commissioned by Aurangzib to crush the Hill Rajas and the Sikhs, although it is quite probable that during his tenure of this important viceroyalty the Prince took military measures for the restoration of peace and obedience within his province.

Was Guru Gobind inspired with the mission of destroying the Mughal Empire? We accept Dr. I. Banerjee's conclusion that the *Bachitra Nāṭak* was composed immediately before the creation of the *Khalsa*, and after the conclusion of the military activities referred to above.[11] The Guru's views on the Mughal Empire are thus stated in that work: —

> "The successors of both Baba Nanak and Babar
> Were created by God Himself.
> Recognize the former as a spiritual
> And the latter as a temporal King.
> Babar's successors shall seize and plunder those
> Who deliver not the Guru's money".[12]

In these lines we almost have an echo of the famous dictum: "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's." Instead of aiming at the destruction of the Mughal Empire the Guru recognises in it a creation of God, legitimises it in the eyes of his followers by calling upon them to acknowledge the temporal authority of Babar's successors, and even invokes its assistance for the punishment of those 'who deliver not the Guru's money'. It is clear, therefore, that resistance to the Mughals was not the Guru's motive in contracting an alliance with the Hill Rajas. Nor are we justified in saying that the creation of the *Khalsa* was due to the Guru's anti-Mughal feelings.

Did Guru Gobind develop anti-Mughal feelings after the creation of the *Khalsa*? In spite of the cruel execution of his two sons by the *Faujdar* of Sarhind,[13] he joined Bahadur Shah in the war of succession that followed Aurangzib's death,[14] accepted some rank in the Mughal army, and fought for his patron in the battle of Jajau.[15] We may reject the Sikh stories conferring upon him a *mansab* of 5,000 and attributing Bahadur Shah's victory at Jajau to his marvellous feats;[16] but there is no reason to doubt that he was really an officer in the Mughal army in 1707-1708. He accompanied the emperor to the Deccan and died there.[17] On these points Sikh tradition is in substantial agreement with the statements of the Muslim historians.

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[9] Irvine, *Later Mughals*, vol. I, p. 4.

[10] Macauliffe (vol. V, p. 59) identifies the Shahzada mentioned in the *Bachitra Nāṭak* with Shah Alam. There is no difficulty in accepting this identification.

[11] "The Bachitra Nāṭak," 1925.

[12] Macauliffe, vol. V, p. 305.

[13] Macauliffe, vol. V, pp. 194-198.

[14] We need not accept the statement of Warid that the Guru offered to

An explanation must now be discovered of the Guru's long hostility with the Mughal commanders. In his article on the early adventures of Guru Gobind Singh Dr. Banerjee observes, "...during the pre-Khalsa period...the Guru's object seems to have been to enter gradually into the fraternity of the Hill Rajas and establish himself as one of their equals." To us it seems that this statement offers a very satisfactory clue to Guru Gobind's whole career. If we scrutinise the history of his relations with the Mughal officers, we must confront the Hill Rajas almost at every step.

We have already seen that Raja Bhīm Chānd first drew him into a contest with the Mughals. We have also seen that after the battle of Nadaun the Hill Rajas made their terms with the Mughals, leaving the Guru a prey to Mughal vengeance. Macauliffe says, "When it became known that the Sikhs had taken supplies forcibly at Alsun, some of the hill chiefs feared that the Guru would some day seize their territories also."[18] Probably these Hill Chiefs had something to do with Dilawar Khan's expeditions against the Guru. Macauliffe says, "...the faithless Raja Bhīm Chānd broke his treaty with the Guru, and threw in his lot with the enemies. Bhīm Chānd, following the example of Raja Kripal of Kangra, paid tribute to Husain,[19] and in company

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make his 'submission to Aurangzib and even promised to embrace Islam.' (See Irvine's *Later Mughals*, vol. I, pp. 88-89). It is probable that Warid's statement is somehow connected with the Guru's letter to Aurangzib, known as the *Zāfarnāma*. (Macauliffe, vol. V. pp. 179, 201-206)

[15] Irvine, *Later Mughals*, vol. I, pp. 89-90.

[16] These Sikh stories are referred to by Irvine (*Later Mughals*, vol. I, p. 89), but I do not find them in Macauliffe (vol. V, p. 230).

[17] Macauliffe, vol. V, pp. 235-245. Irvine, *Later Mughals*, vol. I, pp. 90-91. Buti Shah says that the Guru went to the Deccan because he was dejected and probably wanted a change. He does not tell us why the place selected for change should lie on the route of Bahadur Shah's march. Malcolm says that 'the insatiable thirst of revenge which he had cherished through life against the murderers of his father and the oppressors of his sect,' reinforced by the massacre of children, would not have allowed him to become a servant of the Mughals. (Narang, *Transformation of Sikhism*, p. 100). Irvine shows that he did become a 'servant of the Mughals.'

[18] Macauliffe, vol. V, p. 55

[19] Dilawar Khan's officer.

with other traitorous chiefs proceeded with him to sack and destroy Anandpur.''[20] The Guru assisted Raja Gopal of Guler in his fight against Husain.[21]

After the creation of the *Khalsa* the Hindus naturally became angry with the Guru; the abolition of the caste system was too much for them.[22] Some Hill Rajas, including Raja Ajmer Chānd, the successor of the late Raja Bhīm Chānd, came to visit the Guru, but they "took their departure without accepting the Guru's proposal to substitute his Khalsa for existing Indian religious system.''[23] One day, as the Guru was on a hunting excursion, two Hill Chiefs, Balia Chānd and Alim Chānd, tried to surprise and capture him. When they failed, says Macauliffe, "the hill chief thought it highly dangerous to allow the Sikhs to increase in power and number. They remarked that the Sikhs were to-day in thousands, but in a short time they would be in millions, therefore immediate measures ought to be taken for their repression...The hill chiefs therefore thought it desirable to complain to the Delhi government against the Sikhs." The 'viceroy of Delhi' heard their complaint and submitted it to Aurangzib, who was then in the Deccan. The Supreme Government decided that an army would be sent to assist the Hill Rajas against the Guru, if they paid the expenses, but not otherwise. They accordingly sent the necessary funds. Din Beg and Painda Khan were then sent 'to resist the Guru's encroachments on the rights of the hill chiefs.' At Ropar the imperial troops were joined by the Hill Chiefs (including Ajmer Chānd) at the head of their contingents. In the battle that followed Painda Khan was killed and Din Beg was severely wounded.[24]

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The Hill Rajas then organised a confederacy under the leadership of Ajmer Chānd and Bhup Chānd, Raja of Handur. The allied troops 'fell upon Anandpur like a flight of locusts' but they were repulsed by the brave Sikhs. Ajmer Chānd then renewed his complaint to the Mughal government; as a result, Wazir Khan, the *Faujdar* of Sarhind, was directed to expel the Guru from Anandpur. The Hill Rajas co-operated with Wazir Khan, but they failed to defeat the Guru. A truce followed, Ajmer Chānd, however, sent a Brahmin to spy on the Guru's proceedings, bribed a Muslim general named Alif Khan to fight against the Guru, organised a new confederacy which failed to crush the Guru, and sent an envoy to the emperor, asking for protection. The emperor sent Saiyad Khan to reduce the Guru to submission. This worthy general 'had long

[20] Macauliffe, vol. V, p. 56.

[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 57-58.

[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 97-98.

[23] *Ibid.*, pp. 99-101.

[24] *Ibid.*, pp. 120-122, 124-126.

been a secret friend of the Guru'; so he 'turned aside from the battle,' which was, however, won by his soldiers under the leadership of Ramzan Khan. Anandpur was plundered by the Mughals.[25]

Raja Ajmer Chānd now proceeded to the Deccan to lay the petition of the allied Hill Rajas before the emperor. The emperor ordered a large army to be sent against the Guru. Wazir Khan of Sarhind, who assumed the command, received the whole-hearted co-operation of the Hill Rajas. After a long siege the Guru was compelled to evacuate Anandpur. The allied forces continued to harass his retreat. Two sons of the Guru fell in an encounter with the Mughals, while two others were betrayed to Wazir Khan by a Brahmin. Then followed the tragedy of their death. The Guru continued his retreat, but Wazir Khan's army was in hot pursuit. The dangerous sojourn came to an end only with Aurangzib's death.[26]

All the details given above may not be true, but the entire narrative is obviously based on a single idea—the implacable hostility of the Hill Rajas to the Guru. The Mughals came as a subsidiary force; the ferocity of the imperial officers increased as a result of their repeated failures and culminated in the execution of the Guru's innocent sons. It is a struggle primarily between the Guru and the Hill Rajas.[27] Nor is the cause of this long struggle far to seek. From the political and military points of view the Guru was an upstart; how could the Hill Rajas tolerate him? Religious animosity embittered political rivalry, specially after the creation of the *Khalsa*. It is well-known that the hill tract was a stronghold of Hinduism.

Guru Gobind Singh's 'mission,' therefore, was the acquisition of political power, similar to that enjoyed by the Hill Rajas. For this purpose militarism was a necessity. At first he tried to enter into the fraternity of the Hill Rajas as a friend.[28] Then circumstances made him an enemy of the Hill Rajas as well as of the Mughals. After a long struggle he realised that even the *Khalsa* was not equal to the task of fighting simultaneouly with these two parties. So he changed his policy and reconciled himself with the Mughals. Aurangzib's death probably provided a good opportunity; the old emperor was too orthodox and too prejudiced to be converted to friendship. Guru Gobind joined Bahadur Shah at a psychological moment, when nobody knew whether he would succeed in the impending contest, and fought for him the critical battle of Jajau. It may be presumed that after the consolidation of his patron's position the Guru would have tried to obtain from him some rank and position in the Punjab. But death came too soon for the realisation of this ambition.

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[25] Macauliffe, vol. V, pp. 126-142, 144-145, 153-156, 162-164.

[26] *Ibid.*, pp. 165-229.

[27] When Guru Gobind sent Banda to the Punjab, he ordered him 'to go to the Hills and search for the Hill Rajas who had so often and so cruelly persecuted the Guru and mete out to them the same justice as to the Mughal enemies of the Khalsa.' (Macauliffe, vol. V, p. 239). To Aurangzib the Guru wrote:—

> "I am the destroyer of the turbulent hillmen,
> Since they are idolaters and I am a breaket of idols."
>
> (Macauliffe, vol. V, p. 68).

[28] It may be suggested that the famous Debī pūjā episode, which has been differently interpreted by different writers, probably lends some support to this view. The Guru may have intended 'to win over the popular sympathy and confidence of the populace,' specially in the hill tracts, 'as the chosen favourite of their Deity.' "The Guru cherished the sword as an object of worship and some of his finest verses (in the *Bachitra Nāṭak*) are those he employed to invoke its

The story that Guru Gobind's mission was to avenge his father's death and to destroy the Mughal empire has found acceptance with all modern writers. Cunningham says that he became 'the irreconcilable foe of the Mahometan name', 'conceived the noble idea of moulding the vanquished Hindoos into a new and aspiring people', and "in the heart of a powerful empire set himself to the task of subverting it."[29] Dr. Narang speaks of avenging Teg Bahadur's death and striking a blow at the power of Aurangzib.[30] Sir J. N. Sarkar says that Gobind was 'not the person to leave his father's death unavenged', and that he 'began a policy of open hostility to Islam'.[31] We have tried to show that this interpretation of the Guru's career cannot be reconciled with the principal events of his life. The only act of the Guru's life which was inspired by the spirit of revenge was the despatch of Banda to the Punjab for the punishment of Wazir Khan of Sarhind who was responsible for the cruel death of his minor sons. When Guru Gobind joined Bahadur Shah, he "promised him not only assistance but sovereignty, if he agreed to a request he was about to make...Bahadur Shah was pleased to accept these vague conditions...." After the battle of Jajau the Guru requested the emperor to deliver Wazir Khan to him. Bahadur Shah felt that if he surrendered a powerful officer to the Guru, a popular rebellion and a mutiny of his Muhammadan army would be the result. So he requested the Guru to wait for a year until his rule was more firmly established, and then he would consider

aid." (Narang, *Transformation of Sikhism*, pp. 85-87). Guru Gobind's interest in the hill tracts is also clear from the situation of the forts constructed by him. Cunningham says that he wanted 'to establish a virtual principality amid mountain fastnesses to serve as the basis of his operations against the Mughal government.' (*History of the Sikhs*, Ch. III).

[29] *History of the Sikhs*, Ch. III.

[30] *Transformation of Sikhism*, p. 88.

[31] *History of Aurangzib*, vol. III, pp. 355, 359.

the request made. Impatient of delay, the Guru sent Banda to the Punjab, with 'instructions to cut off Wazir Khan's head with his own hands, and not entrust this pious duty to any subordinate'. It is clear that Banda was not commissioned to begin a general war against the Mughal Government; his hostility was to be directed against a single officer who had cruelly injured the Guru. After the plunder of Sarhind and the punishment of Wazir Khan, Mata Sundari, one of Guru Gobind's wives, wrote a letter to Banda "to the effect that he had now accomplished the mission imposed on him by the Guru, namely, to bring the Governor of Sarhind to justice, and it was time for him to arrest his career of carnage and spoliation. Banda said that as Mata Sundari was only a woman she was not competent to give him advice or orders."[32]

The creation of the *Khalsa* was intended to give the Sikhs greater unity and a definite military ideal of life. Unity was certainly needed. In the first place, different sects had grown up within Sikhism—the Udasis, the Minas, the Dhirmalias, the Ram Raias, etc.[33] Secondly, the *masands* had become corrupt,[34] and their avarice was responsible for the slackening of the Guru's control over the Sikh organization. Thirdly, the Sikhs were gradually becoming Hinduised in their manners and customs. In the Keshgarh assembly the Guru laid down important principles for the removal of these obstacles to unity within the Sikh organization. Henceforth the Sikhs must not have any social or matrimonial relations with the descendants or followers of Prithi Chand, Dhir Mal and Ram Rai. Thus the recalcitrant sects were cut off from the Sikh community. Secondly, the Sikhs were similarly ordered not to have any social or matrimonial relations with the *masands*, 'who had fallen away from tenets and principles of Guru Nanak'. The Guru had already abolished the *masand* system and ordered that the Sikhs should themselves present their offerings to the Guru. Thirdly, all Hindu manners and customs were eradicated from the Sikh community. The Sikhs were to consider their previous castes erased, and deem themseves all brothers of one family. They were freely to intermarry among themselves. They must not worship idols, cemeteries or cremation grounds.[35]

The establishment of internal unity was an essential preliminary to the inauguration of a definitely military ideal of life. The *pahul* ceremony symbolised this remarkable transformation of Sikhism.

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[32] Macauliffe, vol. V, pp. 230, 234-235, 238-239, 250.

[33] For a contrary view, see Teja Singh's *Sikhism*, Ch. VI.

[34] Macauliffe, vol. IV, pp. 3, 316; vol. V, pp. 84-89.

[35] *Ibid.*, vol. V, 86 95-96.

In the Keshgarh assembly the Guru said, "Since the time of Baba Nanak *charanpahul* hath been customary. Men drank the water in which the Gurus had washed their feet, a custom which led to great humility; but the Khalsa can now only be maintained as a nation by bravery and skill in arms. Therefore I now institute the custom of baptism by water stirred with a dagger, and change my followers from Sikhs to Singhs or lions."[36] The task of the new brotherhood was to punish the tyrants.[37] Of this process of complete militarisation the worship of the sword was a necessary corollary. God was described by the Guru as *Sarbloh* (All-steel). *Mahanloh* (Great-steel), *Asidhuj*, *Asiketu* and *Kharagketu* (having the sword on His banner), and *Asipani* (sword in hand).[38]

A military organization demands unity of leadership. The Guruship provided that unity. Instead of strengthening the Guruship, Gobind abolished it altogether. "He invested his sect with the dignity of Gurudom,',[39] thereby dissolving the great unifying principle which had held the Sikhs together for two centuries. Behind this strange measure there must have been some very convincing reasons; otherwise so shrewd and capable a leader like Guru Gobind would not have set aside the most fundamental institution in Sikhism. Dr. Narang says, "He did not appoint any successor, not only because his own sons were all dead, but because he perhaps anticipated the abuses of the office if it fell into unworthy hands".[40] There is no doubt, however, that the Guruship was abolished in 1699, when the Guru's sons were alive. In the Keshgarh assembly the Guru received baptism in the hands of his five tried Sikhs. When they were astonished at the Guru's proposal he said, "...The Khalsa is the Guru and the Guru is the Khalsa. There is no difference between you and me. As Guru Nanak seated Guru Angad on the throne, so have I made you also a Guru".[41] In the hour of his final defeat at Ghamkaur the Guru entrusted the Guruship to the five Sikhs who alone remained of the army. He said, "I shall ever be among five Sikhs".[42] There is no reason to think that Guru Gobind 'anticipated the abuses of the office if it fell into unworthy hands'. His sons were courageous, and courage was the primary quality required of a leader of the *Khalsa*. It seems that the abolition of the Guruship has a logical connection with the Guru's war against sectarianism within the Sikh community. The sects owed their origin to the ambition of the disappointed candidates for the

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[36] Macauliffe, vol. V, p. 93.

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 228.

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 261.

[39] *Ibid.*, p. 96.

[40] *Transformation of Sikhism*, p. 101.

[41] Macauliffe, vol. V, p. 96.

[42] *Ibid.*, p. 189.

*takht*. It was not enough to boycott the existing sects; the origin of new sects must be prevented. The abolition of the Guruship was, therefore, the only remedy.

Teja Singh remarks, "If we read Sikh history aright, the Sikh community would appear as an organized unit, to have undergone a course of discipline in the hands of ten Gurus, until its character was fully developed and the Guru merged his personality in the body of the nation thus reached"[43]. The writer assumes for the Sikhs a course of uninterrupted and continuous development through a process of systematic and logical training, and overlooks the difficulty that this simplification of history is confronted by inconvenient facts almost at every step. We must admit, however, that the abolition of the Guruship was not an absolutely unnatural and unforeseen development. Had it been so the Guru must have encountered serious opposition from at least a section of the Sikhs. It is significant that even in the sixteenth century the individual Sikh had come to be regarded as 'a philosopher's stone...capable of communicating holiness to others'.[44] We read: "He had saved himself and his family, and he shall save twenty-one generations, yea, the whole world".[45] Bhai Gurdas says, "...where there are two Sikhs, there is a company of saints; where there are five Sikhs there is God".[46] Guru Hargobind identified the Guru with the Sikh when he said, "Deem the Sikh who comes to you with the Guru's name on his lips as your Guru".[47] As we go through these extracts we feel that we are not far off from the Keshgarh assembly.

ANIL CHANDRA BANERJEE

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[43] *Sikhism*, p. 28. The author has elaborated his argument in *Growth of Responsibility in Sikhism*.

[44] *Evolution of the Khalsa*, vol. I, p. 245.

[45] Macauliffe, vol. II, p. 292.

[46] *Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 243.

[47] *Ibid.*, vol. IV, p. 219.

# New Lights on the History of Assam

## The Empire-builders of Assam*

The fall of the Mauryas in Northern India, as is well-known, was followed by a period of confused history. The history of the rule of the Suṅgas, the Kānvas, the Andhras who were natives of the soil; and of the Greeks, the Parthians and the Scythians who came from outside, is imperfectly known even at the present time, and is sometimes of bewildering confusion. Steady light began to burn once again in Indian history with the foundation of the Gupta empire and the coronation of Candragupta I, along with his Licchavī queen Kumāra Devī on the throne of Pāṭalīputra in 319-20 A.D.

Fortunately, the sober political history of Assam also, begins about this date. One Puṣyavarmmā founded the historic Varmma kingdom of Assam about this period. When Sir Edward Gait published the first edition of his famous *History of Assam* in 1906, he was content to give a short account of Bhāskaravarmmā and his kingdom from the accounts of the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang. He did not even utilise the account of Bhāskaravarmmā and his line found in the *Harṣa-carita*. Since then, much welcome new material has been discovered regarding the kings of Puṣyavarmmā's line and a much fuller account can now be attempted.

The Nidhanpur plate of Bhāskaravarmmā stands out in importance among the new materials discovered. Then came the clay seals of Bhāskaravarmmā discovered in the ruins of Nālandā. The last but not the least in importance is the clearly dated Baḍagaṅgā Rock Inscription of Mahārājādhirāja Bhūtivarmmā, fifth in ascent from Bhāskaravarmmā, discovered by Mr. R. M. Nath, from a corner of the Nowgong district, Assam. I published a short note on the inscription in the *Journal of the Assam Research Society*, (vol. VIII, 1941, p. 138) and a longer note in the Bengali Journal *Bhāratavarṣa* (Āṣāḍha, 1348 B. S.) My elaborate article on the same is being held up in final proof in the file of the *Epigraphia Indica*, on account of the stoppage of the publication of that paper by the Government of India for paper shortage. I shall use its materials in the present discourse.

The Nidhanpur plates of Bhāskaravarmmā were published in various Bengali journals by the late lamented savant Pandit Padma

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* The second lecture in the series—"Pratibha Devi Memorial Lectures," 1943 (Gauhati, the 27th August, 1944).

Nāth Bhaṭṭācāryya Vidyāvinoda, and ultimately in the *Epigraphia Indica* (vols. XII and XIX). They appear in their final form in his monumental work—*Kāmarūpa-śāsanāvalī*.

One clay seal of Bhāskaravarmmā was noticed by Rai K. L. Barua Bahadur in his *Early History of Kāmarūpa*. This was originally published by Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit in the *Annual Report of the Eastern Circle of the Archaeological Survey of India for 1917-18* and correctly identified by the late Mr. R. D. Banerji in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* (vol. V, 1919, p. 302-3). In the same Journal in the following year, Mr. Dikshit published his revised reading (p. 151-52). The Seal is only a fragment of what it originally was and preserves the dynastic list, and that also incompletely, from Gaṇapativarmmā downwards.

A complete seal of Bhāskaravarmmā, though broken in two parts, was noticed by Rai Bahadur K. L. Barua in the *Journal of the Assam Research Society* (vol. IV, 1936, p. 89 ff.). The first seal, the second seal, as well as the fragment of a third seal (it is quite possible that the fragment belongs to the first seal) have all been published by Dr. Hirananda Sastri in the *Memoir of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 66—"Nālandā and its Epigraphic material,"* with excellent photographs.

The second seal gives a complete genealogy of the line of Puṣyavarmmā and gives us startlingly new information, the importance of which, I am afraid, has not yet been thoroughly grasped in proper political perspective. Below, the reading of the seal is given in full :—

1. श्रीमन्नरकतनयो भगदत्तवज्रदत्तान्वयो महाराजाधिराज श्रीप्राग्ज्योतिषे
2. न्द्रःपुष्यवर्म्मा तत्पुत्रो महाराजाधिराज श्रीसमुद्रवर्म्मा तस्य तनयो दत्तवत्यां समुत्पन्नः
3. महाराजाधिराज श्रीवलवर्म्मा तेन जातो देव्यां श्रीरत्नवत्यां महाराजाधिरा
4. जश्रीकल्याणवर्म्मा श्रीगन्धर्व्ववत्यां श्रीगणपतिवर्म्मा श्रीयज्ञवत्यां श्रीमहे
5. न्द्रवर्म्मा द्विःतुरगमेधाहर्त्ता श्रीसुव्रतायां श्रीनारायणवर्म्मा श्रीदे
6. वमत्यांश्रीभूतिवर्म्मा श्रीविज्ञानवत्यां श्रीचन्द्रमुखवर्म्मा श्रीभो
7. गवत्यांद्विरश्वमेधयाजी श्रीस्थिरवर्म्मा तेन श्रीनयणशोभायां
8. श्रीसुस्थितवर्म्मा तेन श्रीध्रुवलक्ष्म्यां श्रीसुप्रतिष्ठित
9. वर्म्मा [तस्यानुजो तत्पादानुध्यातो श्रीभास्करवर्म्मे]ति

Rai Bahadur Barua notes with pride and satisfaction that two of the kings of this line were powerful enough to perform each two horse-sacrifices (*J.A.R.S.*, IV, p. 91) but does not study the fact in broader political perspective.

The contents of the Nidhanpur plate of Bhāskaravarmmā are well-known to all students of Assam History and need not be recapitulated here. The above genealogical list is given in full there, but no mention is made of the two horse-sacrifices each, performed by Mahendravarmmā and his great-great-grandson Sthitava-mmā or Sthiravarmmā, though Mahendravarmmā is distinguished by the epithet "Repository of all sacrifices." Other matters in connection with this plate will be discussed later on.

The reading of the New Baḍagaṅgā rock Inscription of Bhūtivarmmā, grandson of Mahendravarmmā, is given below. It should be noted here that the readings previously published contained minor inaccuracies.

1. स्वस्ति श्रीपरमदैवत-परमभागवत-महाराजा
2. धिराजाश्वमेधयाजिनां श्रीभूतिवर्म्मदेवपादानां सं
3. २०० ३० ४ मा विषयामात्य आर्य्यगुणस्य
4. इदं आश्रमं ॥

Translation :—

Peace. The (month of) Mā(gha). The year 234 of the illustrious Mahārājādhirājā Bhūtivarmma-Deva, the devout worshipper of the Devas, the devout worshipper of the lord (Viṣṇu), the performer of the Aśvamedha sacrifice. This is the religious retreat of Āryaguṇa, Minister for State.

The value of this inscription, which is the only dated one[1] of the kings of the line of Puṣyavarmmā hitherto discovered, can hardly be exaggerated. Bhāskara was a contemporary of Harṣavardhana, emperor of Northern India, whose reign period is known with more or less certainty as 606 A. D. to 647 A. D. Bhāskara can thus be placed with equal certainty between 600 A. D. and 650 A. D. Now we have a sure date for his great-great-grand-father Bhūtivarmmā, viz: 234 G.E. = 554 A.D. This date must be of the last part of Bhūtivarmmā's reign, as by that date, he had already performed a Horse-sacrifice and his Minister for State had founded a religious retreat, usually resorted to in old age. We may thus place Bhūtivarmmā's reign approximately between 520 and 560 A.D. It should also be remembered here that it was Bhūtivarmmā who was the real donor of the lands granted by the Nidhanpur plates, and Bhāskaravarmmā, fifth in descent from him, only confirmed the grant.

Prof. Padmanāth Bhaṭṭācaryya placed Puṣyavarmmā, the first of the line, in the middle of the fourth century A. D. (*Kāmarūpa-śāsanāvali*, Intro. p. 13). Rai Bahadur Barua places him a little later, and makes him a contemporary of Samudragupta and Candragupta II. The naming of Samudravarmmā after the famous emperor of the Gupta dynasty and of Dattavati (Dattadevi in the Nidhanpur plate) after Datta Devi, queen of Samudragupta, led the Rai Bahadur to conclude that Samudravarmmā probably ruled "a short time after Samudragupta." The same fact led Pandit Padmanāth Bhaṭṭācāryya to conclude that Puṣyavarmmā was a contemporary of Samudragupta and a vassal of that great emperor, who took pleasure in making known his attachment to his liege-lord by naming his son and daughter-in-law after him and his queen. (*Kāmarūpa Śāsanāvalī*. Intro. p. 14). I am of opinion that naming an inferior relation like son after one's liege-lord, would hardly be taken as a compliment by that liege-lord. Hence, Puṣyavarmmā was a contemporary not of Samudragupta but of his father Candragupta I. He named his son and daughter-in-law after the son and daughter-in-law of his friend, for whom he felt very great admiration and attachment. The following comparative chronology will also, I believe, bear out my suggestion.

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[1] Dr. D. C. Sircar of the Calcutta University, wants to read the second numeral figure as 40. But as the same figure has been used to denote the 30th day of the month in the first Bana plate (E.I., XXIII, p. 202) where the number cannot go beyond 32, the figure has to be taken as 30.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Candragupta I | c. 320-330 | Puṣyavarmmā | 310-330 |
| Samudragupta<br>*(One horse-sacrifice)* | c. 330-377 | Samudravarmmā | 330-360 |
| Kāca<br>Candragupta II | 377-415 | Balavarmmā<br>Kalyāṇavarmmā | 360-390<br>390-420 |
| Kumāragupta<br>*(One horse-sacrifice)* | 415-455 | Gaṇapativarmmā | 420-450 |
| Skandagupta | 455-c.470 | | |
| Kumāragupta II | 473 A.D. | Mahendravarmmā<br>*(Two horse-sacrifices)* | 450-490 |
| Purugupta | c.475-c.476 | | |
| Budhagupta | 476-495 | | |
| Vainyagupta | 507 A.D. | | |
| Bhānugupta | 510 A.D. | Nārāyaṇavarmmā | c.490-c.520 |
| Narasiṃhagupta | c.515-c.530 | | |
| Kumāragupta III | c.530-c.540 | Bhūtivarmmā<br>*(One horse sacrifice)* | c.520-c.555 |
| Viṣṇugupta | c 540-c. 552 | | |

The patient industry of a generation of scholars has built up a more or less dependable chronology of the Gupta dynasty. But the order of succession and the dates remained uncertain for the Gupta kings after Skandagupta, whose last known date is 467 A.D. and whose reign terminated possibly 2 or 3 years afterwards. The find of the clay-seals of the Gupta emperors at Nālandā and their publication by Dr. Hirananda Sastri in his memoir "*Nālandā and its Epigraphic material*" and in *Epigraphia Indica*, vols. XXI and by Krishna Deva in vol. XXVI, as well as discussions of the topic by Mr. Amalananda Ghose (*I. H. Q.*, vol. XIX, 1943, pp. 119 ff. ; Nālandā Seals of Budhagupta and Viṣṇugupta") of the Archaeological Survey and by Dr. D.C. Sircar (*I. H. Q.*, XIX, 1943, pp. 272 ff: "The evidence of the Nālandā

Seals") have removed most of the uncertainties regarding the sequence of kings of the Gupta dynasty and have set them to their proper places. The Gupta chronology compiled above, therefore, may be depended upon for all practical purposes. The chronology of the Varma kings of Prāgjyotiṣa has been compiled by working backwards from the fixed point of 554 A.D. at the end of the reign of Bhūtivarmmā and has been started with the supposition that his reign ended by 555 A.D. From this fixed point, the chronology has been worked backwards allowing on an average 30 years for each sovereign, but 10 years and 5 years in excess respectively for emperors of known activities like Mahendravarmmā and Bhūtivarmmā; and only 20 years for the founder.

When the two chronologies are placed side by side synchronistically, the result becomes at once apparent. Puṣyavarmmā easily becomes a contemporary of Candragupta I and Samudravarmmā of Samudragupta. Mahendravarmmā, the first among the Varmmās to perform two Horse-sacrifices, becomes a contemporary of Skandagupta. Let us try to understand the political significance of this synchronism.

In the first place, the fact becomes clear that Puṣyavarmmā made himself supreme in Assam about the same period in which Candragupta I rose in Bihar and U. P. through his Licchavī alliance, when his paternal kingdom consisting of Oudh and Allahabad and all the country along the Ganges and also Bihar fast grew into the Gupta empire. His son Samudragupta counted the frontier kingdoms of Samataṭa (Cachar, Sylhet, Tippera, and Noakhali), Davāka (Nowgong) and Kāmarūpa as separate and submissive friendly kingdoms. The kings of these kingdoms were always ready to please him by ( सर्व्वकरदान=आज्ञाकरण=प्रणाम=आगमन ) payment of tributes, acting according to orders, bowing down, and attendance. This submissiveness of the Kāmarūpa kings must have continued as long as the Gupta emperors were strong enough to enforce submission. There is just a rather doubtful piece of evidence to show that up to 428 A.D., which falls according to the table compiled above in the reign of Gaṇapativarmmā, the kingdom of Davāka, situated in the Kapilī valley continued to remain a separate kingdom and independant of Kāmarūpa. In the Chinese annals it is recorded that in that year one "moon-beloved" (Candragupta?) king of the Kapilī country sent an embassy to China.[1] This Kapilī kingdom has been identified with Davāka, situated in the Kapilī valley, though it is not understood why the country should not be named by its proper name, and should be indicated by the name of its river. Various other identifications for the Kapilī country have been proposed; but the identification with Davāka or the Kapilī valley cannot also be brushed aside. If we accept the identification, we can easily see from the table compiled above, that the kings of Kāmarūpa were content to remain satisfied with the modest limits of their kingdom up to the reign of Kumāragupta of the Gupta line and Gaṇapativarmmā of the Varmma line of Assam. But the Gupta empire began to decline after Kumāragupta, and it is well-known, that Skandagupta on his accession had to encounter a sea of troubles. He had to face enemies who were ( स्वाभिमतविजिगीषाप्रोद्यत ) bent on conquest very pleasing to them and who had made the prosperity ( कुललक्ष्मी ) of the Gupta empire totter ( विचलिता ), one such party of enemies being named as the Puṣyamitras in the well-known Bhitari pillar Inscription. By unremitting day to day application, and by *discreetly refraining from standing against the good actions of others,* Skandagupta succeeded in stemming the oncoming tide of disaster. The meaning, therefore, of the performance of the two horse-sacrifices by Mahendravarmmā is apparent. There cannot now be any doubt that the Gupta empire tottered to its fall, through the onslaught of the rising Varmmas of Prāgjyotiṣa, headed by Mahendravarmmā on the east and of the Hunas from the north-west. It was by discreetly refraining from standing against the Varmmās whose stars were in the ascendent, by not hindering Mahendravarmmā's horse-sacrifices, that Gupta empire remained standing for some time more.

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[1] *JRAS.*, 1896, p. 540.

Who were these Puṣyamitras who are otherwise unknown to history during this period? No scholar has yet been able to solve this problem. The political history of India during this period is fairly known and we have knowledge of most of the ruling families of the period. The Purāṇas speak of 13 kings of the Puṣyamitra and the Paṭumitra lines (Pargiter: *Dynasties of the Kalī Age*, p. 73). They appear to have been of north-western India and Pargiter has placed them in the 3rd century A. D. They can hardly be taken to be the people who gave trouble to Skandagupta and made the Gupta empire totter by the middle of the 5th century A.D. I think, by the term Puṣyamitra, upon which there appears to be a pun (*Śleṣa*), we should understand the descendants of Puṣyavarmmā of Assam who had so long been *mitras* or friends of the Guptas, but had changed into foes by their ( विजिगीषा or) desire for conquest, and had invaded the Gupta empire from the east and made it totter. The meaning of one horse-sacrifice of Samudragupta and a second horse-sacrifice by his grandson Kumāragupta, answered by two horse-sacrifices by Mahendravarmmā alone, and another by his grandson Bhūtivarmmā, when evil days had begun for the Guptas and the Gupta empire was rushing headlong towards fall, should be clear to all students of history. Two horse-sacrifices again by Sthitavarmmā, grandson of Bhūtivarmmā, indicate the continued prosperity of the Varmmās of Prāgjyotiṣa during the period of disruption of political power in Bengal and Bihar, which, then could boast of only a number of upstart monarchs of different lineage who rose and fell quickly, in the person of Gopacandra, Bhagabaccandra (Śāstrī, *Nalandā and its Epigraphic Material*: p. 29-30) Dharmāditya, and Samācāradeva.

Śaśāṅka, the next king of Bengal may have begun his life as a Mahāsāmanta of either the Varmmās of Assam or of the Maukharis of Kanauj, probably of the former. But this astute king of Bengal and Bihar (Gauḍa) appears to have allied himself with the Guptas of Malwa, who frequently came into conflict with the Maukharīs of Kanauj (*Vide* "Attribution of the imitation Gupta Coins" by the present writer: *J.A.S.B.*, 1925; Numismatic Supplement No. XXXIX, p. 1 ff.) and defied both the Maukharīs of Kanauj and the Varmmās of Assam. Āditya Sena, in his Deo Barnark Inscription boasts that his grandfather Mahāsena-gupta, fought and defeated Susthita, father of Bhāskara, on the banks of the Lauhitya. How this king of distant Malwa went out of his way to fight the king of Assam, overstepping Bengal and Bihar which intervened between the two regions, has so long been a puzzle. An alliance with Śaśāṅka, which lasted even after the death of Mahāsena, as is shown by the joint attack by Devagupta (Mahāsena's successor) and Śaśāṅka upon the Maukharī kingdom which resulted in the death of Grahavarmmā, the Maukharī emperor, solves the puzzle. But let us return to our original theme from this digression.

It should be clear from the above discussion that as the Gupta empire declined with Skandagupta, the affairs of the Varmmās of Assam began to flourish with Mahendravarmmā of two horse-sacrifices. This will be further corroborated by the evidence of the Gunāighar plate of Vainyagupta and the Nidhanpur grant of Bhūtivarmmā and Bhāskaravarmmā. Gunāighar is a village about 15 miles north-west of Comilla, the head-quarters of the Tippera district. By a copper-plate found in this village, Vainyagupta of the Imperial Gupta line, is found granting land to a Buddhist establishment in the year 507-8 A. D. Evidence, I believe, of a fairly conclusive nature has been adduced in my forthcoming article on the Baḍagaṅgā Rock Inscription of Bhūtivarmmā that the frontier (*pratyanta*) kingdom of Samataṭa mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta consisted of the entire region enclosed within the lower part of the old Lauhitya and the hills of Assam and Tippera. That is to say, the eastern part of the present Mymensing district, an eastern strip of the Dacca district, and the entire districts of

Noakhali, Tippera, Sylhet and Kāchār went to form Samataṭa in those days. In Samudrgupta's time, this kingdom was a frontier kingdom, outside his north-Indian empire. The Gunāighar plate shows that this kingdom must have passed under the direct sway of the Guptas during the heyday of their power. The Nidhanpur grant, originally granted by Bhūtivarmmā, whose date we have put between 520 and 555 A.D. on the strength of his Baḍagaṅgā Rock Inscription dated in 554 A.D.; and the site of which grant has been very definitely located in Pañcakhaṇḍa in the Sylhet district (*Vide* "Location of the land granted by the Nidhanpur grant of Bhāskaravarmmā of Kāmarūpa" *J.A.S.B.*, 1935, p. 419 ff,, by the present writer) shows that Samataṭa must have passed from the hands of the Guptas to those of the Varmmans at some date subsequent to 508 A.D. The final fall of the Guptas by 552 A.D. shows that the dynasty went out of existence, crushed in between Īśānavarmmā Maukharī (554 A.D.) of Kanauj and Bhūtivarmmā of Assam (554 A.D.). The Varmmans were able not only to keep their hold on Samataṭa for four more generations, as is evidenced by the renewal of the grant by Bhāskaravarmmā; but the latter king, and ally of Harṣa, by the issue of his charter from Karṇasuvarṇṇa in the Murshidābād district in the heart of Bengal, shows that his empire included the whole of eastern India.

The location of the land granted by the Nidhanpur grant of Bhūtivarmmā and Bhāskaravarmmā was discussed in my article referred to above.

It had the following boundaries:

To the east was the dried up Kauśikā, ( शुष्क कौशिका ).

To the south-east was the same dried up Kauśikā to be recognised by a series of ( डुम्वरीच्छेद ), river-sections or pools shaped like figs.

To the south was also such sections or section.

To the south-west was a dried up rivulet ( गङ्गिणिका ) to be recognised by fig-shaped sections.

To the west was the rivulet itself.

To the north-west were some mud quarries of the potters and the same rivulet bending towards the east.

To the north was a big Jāṭali ( वृहज्जाटली ).

To the north-east was the tank of the lawyer Khāsoka, and again the dried up Kauśikā.

A study of the map published by government and reproduced in my article in the *J.A.S.B.* referred to above, will show that all the stable boundaries indicated above may be accurately traced on it, around present Pañcakhaṇḍa, where the plate was found. The important word *Dumvarīccheda* was explained by Paṇḍit Padmanāth Bhaṭṭācāryya as logs of fig tree. I pointed out that to plant fig logs along the bed of a dried up river, so that its course might be recognised, was a very strange procedure indeed, when the area to be thus marked out extended for miles, as in the present case. This perishable material would be submerged and get rotten during the rains and would very soon disappear. I suggested that *Dumvarīccheda* meant fig-shaped sections of the dried up rivers, that were deep enough to retain water during winter, when the rivulet itself dried up. This explanation agrees so well with the topographical features that Pañcakhaṇḍa has retained even up to the present time, that I cannot but think that my explanation was the correct one. Since the appearance of my article in the *J.A.S.B.* I have found the following passages that support my explanation.

Major Rennel surveyed the whole of Bengal during the administration of Warren Hastings and has left us a valuable record of his operations in his Journal or Diaries. This Journal was published as a memoir of the Asiatic Society of Bengal under the editorship of Mr. La Touche. In a footnote on the Jalaṅghī river [the river on which stands the town of Krishnanagar, the headquarters of the district of Nadia] (footnote 4, p. 11), the editor thus describes the condition of the Jalaṅghī river :—"In the hot weather, it is little more than a *string of marshes* connected by shoals." This stage in the decay of a drying up river in the alluvial tract is so well-known that it does not require support by quotation from a printed authority; and I have to do it only because even this much was not conceded to me. The sections of a dried up river that contain water are ordinarily called *Daha* in common language, a corruption of the Sanskrit word *hrada*, meaning a pool, a lake. We find the word Dumurdaha, a pool shaped like a fig, turned into a place-name in Nadia. (*Indian Antiquary*, 1921, p. 41).

There can hardly be any doubt, therefore, that the land donated by the Nidhanpur plates of Bhāskaravarmmā and Bhūtivarmmā was the Pañcakhaṇḍa *parganā* of Sylhet and the Varmmas of Assam retained their hold on this area, and consequently over the whole of Samataṭa east of the Lauhitya for five generations from Bhūtivarmmā to Bhāskaravarmmā, or more.

Harṣa died in 647 A.D. Bhāskaravarmmā outlived him by some years and for all practical purposes, the year 650 A.D. may be taken as the year of the termination of his reign. The glorious days of the empire-builders of Assam came to an end with Bhāskaravarmmā, as about this time, we have evidence in the Ashrafpur copper-plates, of one Deva-khaḍga carving out a kingdom in Samataṭa (*Memoirs A.S.B.*, vol. I, pp. 85 ff.). In plate B, he respectfully mentions his liege lord as *Bṛhatparameśvara* and includes the land previously granted by him in his own charter. This *Bṛhatparameśvara* can be nobody else than Bhāskaravarmmā himself. But in the Tippera grant of Lokanātha, which belongs to this, if somewhat later period, we find him coming in violent conflict with the Parameśvara and strong enough to defy him. This grant speaks of a battle in Jayatuṅgavarṣa and the grant itself was made in the *Viṣaya* of Subbuṅga. These names sound like the Jaṭiṅgā and the Subong rivers in the region north of Silchar in the Kāchār district and Jaṭiṅgā river and Jaṭiṅgā station are well-known to travellers by the hill-section of the B.A. Railway. I have elaborated the identification, which has puzzled scholars for the last forty years, in an article of mine in the Puja number (1351 B.S.) of the *Ānandabāzār Patrikā*, and would refer the enquirers to that article. If my identification is accepted, it would appear that in the northern part of the kingdom of Samataṭa, in and about the present Kāchār district, one Lokanātha had made himself supreme, as Devakhaḍga has made himself in Tippera. We hear even of another king called Kāntideva, making himself king of Harikela or the Chittagong district about the same time. This clearly indicates the weakening of the central authority, which enabled the component parts of the empire to turn themselves into separate kingdoms. The invasion of the *mleccha* king Sālastambha, which probably has to be dated by about 700 A.D., overwhelmed the dynasty of the empire-builders of Assam, and we have to bid adieu to them for ever in tears of fond and grateful affection.

N. K. BHATTASALI

# Aryanisation of East India ( Assam )

A history of Eastern India is still to be written. By Eastern India we mean the ancient Prāgjyoṭiṣa or Kāmarūpa, which is modern Assam. Cut off from the plains of Hindusthan, and encircled on its two sides by lofty hills, ancient Assam enjoyed peace comparatively for a long time. This ancient country was occupied by a number of primitive tribes; some of them went by the name of Kirātas, Yakṣas, Rākṣasas. One scholar thinks that the ancient Kāmarūpa was the home of the Paṇis who occur in Vedic literature as civilised Asuras. These Paṇis are identified with the Phoenicians. It is further assumed that the Nivāta-Kavacās mentioned in the Purāṇas are a branch of this Paṇi tribe, and in course of time, Paṇi-Kavaca became Paṇi-Koca or Pani-Koch (Nagendrh Nath Vasu: *Social History of Kamarupa*, vol. I, ch. I)

Whatever may be, the fact remains that once, ages ago, old Kāmarūpa remained un-Aryan. Its people came into contact with the Vedic people long after. The Vedic people disregarded Eastern India as a country of the Mlecchas, an impure country unfit for performance of Aryan rites and ceremonies. This was the conception at least of the Ṛgvedic Aryan. For we find in the Ṛgveda some evidence of a movement of the Vedic people in the easterly direction. The evidence is vague but still it admits of a spirit of adventure on the part of the Ṛgvedic Indian to expand eastward. This is afforded by the very interesting legend in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, to which attention was first drawn by that eminent orientalist, Albrecht Weber (*Ind. Stud.*, I, 170 ff.). This legend requires a detailed examination. Let me first of all quote the original texts and the translation by Julius Eggeling:

माधवो मधुनाम्नः पुत्रः विदेघो नाम राजा स्वमुखे विश्वनरहितमग्नि धारयामास ।

Commentary on *Śat. Br.*, I, 4, I, 10

"Māthava, the King of Videgha, carried Agni Vaiśvānara in his mouth. The Ṛṣi Gotama Rāhūgaṇa was his family priest. When addressed (by the latter) he made no answer to him, fearing lest Agni might fall from his mouth." *S.B.E.*, vol. XII, pt. I, p. 104.

ऋङ्मन्त्रैस्तस्य मुखगतमग्निं स्तुवन् तं विदेघमाह्वातुं निश्चितवान् । *ibid.*

"He (the priest) began to invoke the latter with verses of the Ṛgveda 'We kindle thee at the sacrifice, O wise Agni, thee the radiant, the mighty caller to the sacrificial feast (*ṚV.*, V. 26.3)! O Videgha'."

"He (the King) did not answer. (The priest went on). 'Upwards, O Agni, dart thy brilliant, shining rays, thy flames, thy beams (*ṚV.*, VIII. 44.16)—O Videgha—a—a!'"

"Still he did not answer (The priest continued). 'Thee, O butter sprinkled one, we invoke!' (*ṚV.*, V. 26.2). So much he uttered, when at the very mentioning of butter, Agni Vaiśvānara flashed forth from the (King's) mouth. He was unable to hold him back; he issued from his mouth, and fell down on this earth." *Ibid.*, p. 105.

तस्मिन्समये माधवश्च तापशमनाय सरस्वत्यां नद्यां निमग्नोऽभूत । सोऽग्निस्तस्मात्स्थानादारभ्य प्राङ् दहन्निमा सर्वां पृथिवीमभितो व्याप्नोत । प्राचीनं दहतोऽस्य पुरस्तात् सदानोरा नाम नदी उत्तरा उदक्प्रवाहा एति गच्छति तया च व्यवहितः सोऽग्निः...तां नदोमितरनदीवन्नातिददाह ।...तां ह नदीं पुरा तद्दहनोत्तरकाले ब्राह्मणा न तरन्ति न स्पृशन्ति अग्निदाहाभावेनाविशुद्धत्वात् ।

"Māthava, the Videgha, was at that time on the Sarasvatī. He (Agni) thence went burning along this earth towards the east; and Gotama Rāhūgaṇa and the Videgha Māthava followed after him as he was burning along. He burnt over all these rivers. Now that (river) which is called Sadānīrā flows from the northern (Himālaya) mountain: that one he did not burn over. That one the Brahmans did not cross in former times, thinking 'it has not been burnt over by Agni Vaiśvānara'." *Ibid.*, p. 105.

The above lines, if they connote anything, record faithfully a tradition of the Ṛgvedic times. We have internal evidence of the Ṛgveda to show that both Rāhūgaṇa and Gotama were seers and authors of certain sūktas. Therefore it is reasonable to suppose that Gotama Rāhūgaṇa lived in the age of the Ṛgveda and was a contemporary of Māthava, king of Videgha. Videgha undoubtedly stands for the country of the ancient tribe of Videhas. According to the epic and other testimony the Videhas were neighbours to the Kośalas. In fact, later on, as we shall see in the sequel the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* itself refers to these two great tribes, the Kośalas and Videhas when it makes the Sadānīrā river as the boundary between the territories of these two tribes. The identification of this Sadānīrā has been a moot question to the orientalists. Julius Eggeling would suggest the Gaṇḍakī, the modern Gunduck which joins the Ganges opposite Patna. But I should like to accept the identification of that great commentator Sāyana. According to Sāyana this river Sadānīrā is only another name for Karaṭoyā, the modern Kurattae, on which lies Bogra.

The Ṛgvedic evidence definitely indicates that the eastern boundary of the Videha's territory was marked by the Sadānīrā or Karatoyā as has been ably suggested by Sāyana. In the age of the Ṛgveda when Māthava was the king of the Videhas, he endeavoured to spread the Aryan cult towards the east of India, which lay yet uncivilised. In this endeavour, his Purohita and sage Gotama Rāhūgaṇa helped him. It is significant to note the statement that at the time when Māthava directed his adventures towards Eastern India, he was stationed at the Sarasvatī. The identification of this river is still a bone of contention among scholars. Whatever it may be, it shows that the river belonged to the country of Māthava. Whether Māthava carried arms or undertook peaceful penetration into the eastern territories we cannot say for certain. It is reasonable to suppose that it was a peaceful penetration and yet a successful one. Māthava succeeded in Aryanising all the lands from the Sarasvatī upto the Sadānīrā.

Otherwise it is difficult to explain the part played by Agni Vaiśvānara. Agni Vaiśvānara stands for the fire which the Aryans worshipped. In fact two characteristic elements of Aryan culture are its fire cult and soma sacrifice. Followers of Aryan culture and civilisation were worshippers of Agni or fire. They offered oblations to fire and prayed to fire who was the representative of gods to rid them of their troubles and make them all prosperous and happy. The non-Aryan tribes clung to fireless cults. They worshipped their deities generally by bloody sacrifices including human sacrifices. Oblations to fire were not a part of their worship. The texts quoted above therefore point out to the spread of the fire-cult from the region of the Sarasvatī eastwards as far as the Karatoyā. This incidentally shows the extension of the Videha territory on the eastern side. Here it is important to note that in the age of the Ṛgveda itself what we call Aryanisation of the Eastern India has begun and has been completed with success to a large extent. The credit of the achievement goes to king Māthava of the Videha country and to his celebrated Purohita Gotama son of Rāhūgaṇa. The statement that Agni burnt over all these rivers need not be a reference to the drying up the rivers. It does not stand to reason that these rivers were dried up by the use of fire. It means the purification effected in those regions. The Indian conception is that Agni purifies the impure. Viewed in this light the unholy regions became holy, fit for performing śrāddhas and sacrifices. The rivers themselves attained sacredness.

Let us now proceed with the texts of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* which deal with the next stage of Aryan migration towards Eastern India.

तस्या नद्याः प्राग्देशः सर्वौंपि इदानीं ब्राह्मणावासः...यतो वैश्वनराग्निनानास्वादितम तस्तत्स्थानमपवित्रम् । (I, 4, 1, 15.)

"Nowadays, however, there are many Brāhmaṇas to the east of it.

At that time it (the land east of the Sadānîrā) was very uncultivated, very marshy, because it had not been tasted by Agni Vaiśvānara."

S. B. E., vol. 12, pt., 1, p. 105.

जघन्ये निकृष्टे सर्वरसवर्जिते नैदाघे ग्रीस्मसंवन्धिकालेऽपि संयक् कोपयति वहुजलतया प्रकुपिता भवति । *Ibid. 16.*

"'Nowadays, however, it is very cultivated, for the Brahmans have caused (Agni) to taste it through sacrifices. Even in late summer that (river) as it were, rages along ; so cold is it, not having been burnt over by Agni Vaiśvānara." *Ibid.*, p. 106.

स च माधवः अग्निं प्रतीच्द्योवाच । इति पृष्टे सोऽप्यग्निरेनमुवाच । यस्मादेवं माधवायाग्निरदात्तस्मात्ते विदेहदेशाः अपि माधवा इत्युच्यते । *Ibid. 17.*

Māthava, the Videgha, then said (to Agni), 'where am I to abide'? 'To the east of this river be thy abode' said he. Even now this (river) forms the boundary of the Kośalas and Videhas ; for these are the Māthavas (or descendants of Māthava). *Ibid.*

Gotama Rāhūgaṇa then said (to Māthava), 'why didst thou not answer when addressed by us'? He replied 'Agni Vaiśvānara was in my mouth : I did not reply, lest he should escape from my mouth.' "

'How then did this happen?' At the moment when thou didst utter the words "(Thee) O butter-sprinkled one, we invoke ! Just then, at the mention of butter, Agni Vaiśvānara flashed forth from my mouth ; I was unable to hold him back, he issued from my mouth.' *Ibid.*

The above texts, while adverting to the old Ṛigvedic legend, which helps us to understand the first stage in the Aryanisation of Eastern India, bears out some important statements which indicate that between the composition of the Ṛgveda Saṃhitā and of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* there has been a slow infiltration of the Aryan ideas and ideals beyond the river, Sadānīrā. It is explicitly stated that the territories which were marshy, unfit for cultivation had been reclaimed and the uncultivated waste had become agricultural fields. The marshy and woody parts had been cleared and they too had become useful to grow more food for the migrants. The migrants are said to be Brāhmaṇas who had implicit faith in the potency of the fire cult. It appears that Māthavas who were the descendants of the Ṛgvedic king were responsible in carrying the torch of civilisation to these little or non-civilised peoples inhabiting the regions of Eastern India. The texts warrant two more stages in the migration of these Brāhmaṇas. An intermediate stage is noticed between the days of the Ṛgveda and those of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. Centuries must have elapsed between these great Vedic works and still the Māthava Videhas were able only to cross the Sadānīrā and try to find an abode for themselves to the east of that river.

From this time onward the movement towards the east gained further impetus and strength with the result that by the time of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (the dates given to these works are generally arbitrary. A fresh examination is needed) we can postulate a third stage in the migration. The centre of activity has been considerably shifted. It may be that the primitive tribes might have been conquered and brought under control. It was incumbent on the Brāhmaṇa to perform sacrifices. It was his *svadharma*. One essential ingredient for the sacrifice was the Soma plant. The Brāhmaṇa came to know by frequent contacts with these tribes in Kāmarūpa that the hilly tracts were rich in Soma. By barter and by purchase these Brāhmaṇas who were by now settlers on the soil of Assam managed to get Soma for sacrifices. This information we get from an important passage in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*.

प्राच्यां वै दिशि देवाः सोमं राजानमक्रीणन्। तस्मात् प्राच्यां दिशि दिशि क्रीयते। I.3.7

This shows that the back woods of Assam supplied a very valuable material to the Vedic Brāhmaṇa without which he could not do justice to his Dharma. This attracted naturally members of the Brāhmaṇa community in large numbers to the different districts of Assam with the result it became the land of sacrifices during the days of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*.

Still Assam could not claim to have become a part of the Āryāvarta. The old tribes consisting of Asuras continued to exercise their might and main. We hear of the powerful lord Naraka ruling from Kāmarūpa and extending his sway far and wide. This put a stumbling block to the progress of dharma. Therefore as the epic *Mahābhārata* would have it, Kṛṣṇa, the king of Dvārakā was compelled to make a war on him and vanquish him completely. It is therefore reasonable to assume that after the defeat of Naraka at the hands of Kṛṣṇa, Assam became completely Aryan and it came to be considered a part of the great Āryāvarta. In other words the unholy ground became *Puṇya Bhūmi* or the holy land. This resulted in a fusion of Pre-Aryan culture and Aryan culture in Kāmarūpa and this great event may be dated from the epic period.

V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR

# Historicity of the Kāñcī-Kāverī Tradition

The Kāñcī-Kāverī tradition is well-known in Orissa. It refers to a period when the political boundaries of Orissa extended from the Ganges to the Penner in the South, and for some time up to the river Kāverī. Unfortunately the introduction of the supernatural and romantic elements has affected the historicity of the tradition. The tales that have gathered round the early life of Puruṣottama of the Sūrya Vaṃśa of Orissa read more like legends invented by popular fancy than sober history. Events are shrouded in confusion and it is indeed difficult to discern them and construct a connected history of the expedition to Kāñcī or Conjeveram.

R. D. Banerjee has characterised the Kāñci-Kāverī account as "a mere romance" (*History of Orissa*, vol. I, p. 317). Writing on this tradition in the *Journal of the B. & O. Research Society*, the late Tarini Charan Rath admitted:—"It is indeed difficult to fix with precision the date of this Kāncī-Kāverī expedition of king Puruṣottama Deva, and find out the name of his contemporary king of Karṇāṭa, with whom he waged war and whose daughter Padmāvatī he married."

We shall give a short sketch of the tradition before we examine its historical value. Kapilendra, the Gajapati king of Orissa, nominated his illegitimate son Puruṣottama as his successor, though he had legitimate sons of whom Hāmvīra Ray was the eldest. It is said that Jagannātha himself recommended Puruṣottama through a dream to Kapilendra. The legitimate sons questioned the dispensation of Jagannātha in favour of Puruṣottama, who had to undergo an ordeal to satisfy them. He stood before them unarmed, calmly reciting the name of Jagannātha. The brothers hurled deadly weapons at him, but by Divine grace Puruṣottama remained unscathed. The legitimate sons of Kapilendra were then convinced of the merit of Puruṣottama, and left their ancestral home to seek their fortune elsewhere.

Puruṣottama wanted to marry Padmāvatī, the daughter of the king of Karṇāṭa, whose capital was Kāñcī. But the king of Karṇāṭa rejected the proposal as the kings of Orissa, "were in the habit of performing the duties of sweeper before the image of Jagannātha on its being brought forth from the temple annually" at the time of the Car-festival (Stirling's *Orissa*, p. 129). The Gajapati felt himself deeply humiliated and swore that he would obtain the damsel by force, "to avenge the insult offered to the deity himself in the person of his worshipper." (Stirling's *Orissa*, p. 130). It is said that Jagannātha and Balarāma, mounted on horse-back as commanders of the Orissan army, accompanied the expedition to Kāñcī, and assisted in storming the citadel of Kāñcī. The princess of Kāñcī was brought to Puri, and Puruṣottama intended to marry her to a sweeper. But the story ends with a touch of romance. The princess was given away in marriage to the Gajapati—while he was acting as a sweeper during the Car-festival.

It is to be noted that Vijayanagara, and not Kāñcī or Conjeveram, was the capital of the kingdom of Karṇāṭa. Bengali Vaiṣṇava writers like Kṛṣṇadās Kavirāj, the author of *Caitanya Caritāmṛta*, mentions the fact that Puruṣottama conquered Vidyānagara and brought an image named Sākṣī-Gopāla and a jewelled throne from that country. In many inscriptions of the 15th and 16th centuries, the capital Vijayanagara was called Vidyānagara while the kingdom was usually named Karṇāṭa.

R. D. Banerjee finds "no reason to disbelieve the statements of Gosvāmi Kṛṣṇadās Kavirāj" that "Puruṣottama conquered Vijayanagara." (*History of Orissa*, I, p. 316). He considers that the stone altar of Jagannātha contains "the bizarre arabesque of the decadent Hoyśala type, which one sees in the temple of Hazāra-Rāmasvāmī at Hampe or Vijayanagara." If we agree with R. D. Banerjee, we shall have to assume that Puruṣottama defeated Virūpākṣa III (A. D. 1465-1486) who was his contemporary. Pratāparudra says in the introduction to his work *Sarasvatī Vilāsam*, that Rūpāmbikā was the queen of Puruṣottama, (v. 17). Was Rūpāmbikā the daughter of Virūpākṣa III?

We shall now discuss the following topics: 1. The tradition of Sākṣī Gopāla. 2. History of Hāmvīra Ray. 3. Illegitimacy of Puruṣottama. 4. Story of the disputed succession after the death of Kapilendra. 5. The date of Puruṣottama's accession. 6. Probable date and cause of the expedition. 7. The relation of Orissa with Karṇāṭa.

### *The tradition of Sākṣī Gopāla*

Kṛṣṇadās Kavirāj writes that Puruṣottama brought the Gopāla image of Vidyānagara to Cuttack, after conquering that country.[1] This has been corroborated by Vṛndāvan Das in *Caitanya Bhāgavata* (III. 2) and by Kavikarṇapura in his *Caitanya Candrodaya* drama.

But these writers really referred to another Vidyānagara, which perhaps was adjacent to Rajahmundry or merely another name of that place. The sacred hill of Vidyādri or Vedādri at Rajahmundry which was praised by Śrīnātha Bhaṭṭa (the court poet of Allāda Reḍḍi who ruled at Rajahmundry in the beginning of the 15th century) in his work "*Kāśi Khanḍam*" v. 9., is "now buried under the huge quantities of silt and sand deposited by the Godāvarī" (History of Rajahmundry—*J.A.H.R.S.*, vol. III, pts. 2, 3 & 4). The province of Rajahmundry was perhaps called by foreign writers. Vidyānagara-*rājyam* after this hill. For instance, Ferishta tells us that Seetāpati fled to Rajahmundry and joined Vidiādry, the Rajah of that place. Ruffut Khan proceeded to the country of Vidiādry governed by Velluparāja (Brigg's vol. III, pp. 422, 424, 425). Raghudeva Narendra Mahāpātra, Officer of Kapilendra Gajapati, was ruling the province of Rajahmundry (*Rājamahendra Varapu Rājyam*—A.R. No. 494 of 1896) in 1458 A.D. Kṛṣṇadās Kavirāj mentions that Rāmānanda was the Governor of Vidyānagara, situated on the Godāvari[2]. Pratāparudra says that he appointed Rāmānanda, Raja, i.e., Governor of Rajahmundry (*Caitanya Caritāmṛta*, III, 9). Kavikarṇapura, the court poet of Pratāparudra writes in his Sanskrit drama *Caitanya Candrodaya* (VI. 22) that Puruṣottama Gajapati brought the image of Gopāla from the Mahendra country (Mahendra Deśa).

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[1] सेइ देश जिनिलेन करिया संग्राम—*Caitanya Caritāmṛta*, II. 5. Translation: He fought (with the king of Vidyānagara) and conquered the country.

On the other hand, the Vaiṣṇava writers of Bengal referred to Hamphi as Vijayanagara and not as Vidyānagara. (*Caitanya Bhāgavata* I. 9, III. 3; Jayānanda's *Caitanya Maṅgala*). Thus the proposed identification of Vidyānagara of the Vaiṣṇva writers with Vijayanagara is not tenable.

The Kāñcī expedition in our opinion took place about A.D. 1469, when there was no need for conquering the province of Rajahmundry. The Reḍḍi king Kumāragiri worshipped the image of Gopinātha at Rajahmundry. [*E.I.*, XI—The Anaparti Plates]. Sākṣī Gopāla is also called Gopinātha.

Images of Veṇu Gopāla and Madana Gopāla in the Telugu districts were known in the mediaeval period as Gopinātha [Nos. 284 of 1905; 545 of 1909; 572 of 1909; 26 of 1929-30; 57 of 1929-30; 316 of 1936-37]. Thus the tradition of Sākṣī Gopāla has no connection with the Kāñcī expedition, and it is not safe to assume, in the absence of any corroborative evidence, that Puruṣottama conquered Vijayanagara the capital of Karṇāṭa.

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[2] राय रामानन्द आछे गोदावरी तीरे। अधिकारी हयेन तिहों विद्यानगरे ॥
Trans: Rai Ramānanda lives on the banks of the Godāvarī. He is the Adhikārī or Governor of Vidyānagara (*Caitanya Caritāmṛta*, II. 7). See also Kavikarṇapura's *Caritāmṛta* in Sanskrit XII. 99.

### *History of Hāmvīra Rāya*

The *Mādalā Pāñji*, i.e., the Temple Archives, clearly mention the fact that Hāmvīra was the rightful heir to the throne.[3] This fact can be fully substantiated by referring to a few inscriptions:

(A) The Oruganti or Warrangal Fort inscription, dated 1459 A.D. (*S.I. Epigraphical Report*, 1901-02; A. R. No. 110). It is stated in Telugu language that the fort was conquered by "*Gajapathi Kapilendra Maharāyala Kumārunḍu Amvīra Deva Kumāra Mahāpātra.*"

(B) An undated grant of Ambā Deva, son of Vīra Śrī Gajapati Kapileśvara. Hāmvīra gave away the village of Jankāpuḍi, in the Bezwada Taluq, Kistna district, to a temple. (No. 148 of 1913).

(C) Another undated grant in the Kistna district recording the gift of the village of Yenekepāḍu (No. 157 of 1913).

(D) The Anantavaram (in the Guntur district) inscription of Pratāparudra dated 1500 A.D. "By his (Kapilendra's) orders Kumāra Hāmvīra defeated his enemies in the South,"[4] "and washed his sword stained with blood of the enemies in the waters of the Southern Ocean."

Kumāra Hāmvīra at least had two sons: (i) *Dakṣiṇa* Kapileśvara Kumāra Mahāpātra was at first *Parikṣā* or Governor of Koṇḍaviḍu *Daṇḍapāṭa*. After the conquest of the Tamil districts upto the Kāverī by Kapilendra in A.D. 1462-63 he was appointed Governor of those districts. Seven inscriptions in the South Arcot district (Tirokkoyilūr, No. 1 of 1905; Jambai, No. 93 of 1906; Iḍaiyāṛ, No. 287 of 1929; Āvūr. No. 310 of 1919; Aragaṇḍanallūr, No. 111 of 1935; Neṛkunṛam, No. 213 of 1935 and Siddhaliṅga Madam, 262 of 1937) refer to the invasion of the Oriyas ("Oḍḍiyaṇ—Galabhai") into that district.

In his book R. D. Banerjee mentions that Kapileśvara Kumāra Mahāpātra made a gift of some land for "the *Ahamvīra-bhoga* and repairs" of two Śiva temples in the village of Muṇṇur in the South Arcot district on 7th June 1464 (*History of Orissa*, I, p. 294; A.R. No. 51 & 92 of 1919). His reference to "*ahamvīra bhoga*" is a mistake. In Sewell and Aiyangar's *Historical inscrip-*

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[3] श्रीछामुरे जणाइले, मीहर त वहुत हम्मिर राएमाने अछन्ति ।
ए पृथ्वी काहाकु आग्या हेव ।—हमीरं कु याइ डगरा वारता कहिले ॥

Trans: The King prayed to the god—"I have got many Hammīra Rāyas, i.e., sons. To whom do you order me to leave my throne......The messenger gave this information to Hammīra—"—*Mādalā Pāñji*: Prācī edition—pp. 46-47.

[4] कुमार हम्वीर विभुर्यदाज्ञया विजित्य कार्तान्त दिशंप्रतापवान्—v. 9.

*tions of Southern India* (p. 224) has been given the correct reading "Kapileśvara Kumāra Mahāpātra, son of Ambira." He was named after his grandfather, an old custom.

(ii) Another son of Kumāra Hāmvīra, namely, Narahari Pātra, was imprisoned by Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya after the fall of Koṇḍaviḍu, in the Guntur district. In his Amarāvatī inscription, Kṛṣṇadeva mentions this fact[5].

To sum up, the evidences of the *Pāñjī* and the inscriptions prove definitely that Hāmvīra Deva Kumāra Mahāpātra was the son, probably the eldest son, of Kapilendra Gajapati.

### *Illegitimacy of Puruṣottama*

Tradition has it that he was nominated by Kapilendra to the exclusion of his legitimate sons. Popular tradition tells us that Puruṣottama was a *Dāsī-putra* (*Bhogini Nandana*). We need not assume that Puruṣottama's mother was a mistress to the King.[6] A son born to a Kṣatriya ruler by a wife belonging to a lower caste is considered illegitimate. This tradition has been corroborated by an inscription of Puruṣottama in the Guntur district wherein he calls himself—"*Jagannātha Vara Prasāda* (*S.I. Epi. Rep.*, 1935-36; A.R. No. 226). In the preface of a Sanskrit MS written by Puruṣottama in praise of the goddess Bhuvaneśvarī, Puruṣottama admits that he got the throne due to Kapilendra's generosity, while he was on the banks of the Krishna.[7]

The *Mādalā Pāñjī* also states that he was crowned king on the banks of the Krishna.[8] Now we will refer to Ferishta (Brigg's tr. vol. III, p. 487). He writes that in the year A.H. 876=1471 A.D., "Ambur Ray, cousin to the Ray of Orissa, complained Mahomed Shah that the Ray being dead, Mongul Ray, a Brahmin, his adopted son, had usurped the Government in Idefiance of his prior claim of inheritance."

We can account for Puruṣottama's coronation on the banks of the Krishna, far away from Cuttack, the capital of the empire. In

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[5] कोण्डाभिटि दुर्गन लागलमवुचुकुनि (stormed) कुमार हम्वीर महापात्रुनि कडुकु (son) नरहरि पात्रुण्डु—(A. R. N. 272 of 1897)

[6] Her name was Pārvatī.*Sarasvatī Vilāsam* I. vv. 14, 15.

[7] यस्याः प्रभाव महिमा कृष्णातीरे मम प्रादात् * * *
कपिलेन्द्र नन्दनीऽहं तदनुग्रहमात्त लब्ध साम्राज्यं

The MS. was in possession of a Brahmin family, formerly of the Puri district which settled in the Ganjam district two hundred years ago.

[8] कृष्णवेणी नदीकूलेर से राजा होइले—*Mādalā Pāñjī.*

A.D. 1466, Sāluva Narasiṃha, the Governor of the east coast provinces and the *de-facto* ruler of the Vijayanagara empire recovered the northern Tamil districts occupied by Kapilendra during the Oḍḍiyaṇ Galabhai of A.D. 1462-63. Narasiṃha was recognised as a ruler in an inscription of the South Arcot district, dated A.D. 1466. (A.R. No. 53 of 1919). The old emperor started for the south once more and proceeded as far as the banks of the Krishna. There death struck him down.[9] Kapilendra's latest known inscription shows that he was present at Puri in December 1466 when he came to worship Jagannātha. In our opinion Kapilendra died in 1467 on the banks of the Krishna and was succeeded by Puruṣottama.

### *Story of the disputed succession*

According to the *Mādalā Pāñji*, Hāmvīra refused at first to recognise the claim of Puruṣottama. Vāsudeva Rath also mentions this fact in *Gaṅgavaṃśānucaritam*. Ferishta writes that Ambur Ray "became the guide of the (Bahmani) Army against Mongul Ray. The usurper was defeated and Ambur Ray placed in possession of his ancestral dominions." (Brigg's Trans. Vol. III, p. 488). Ferishta's statement is not trustworthy. It would be difficult to imagine the hero of Warrangal and a son of Kapilendra Gajapati as a traitor to his country. Hāmvīra did not get the throne. Moreover, the dispossessed family was on good terms with the Gajapatis, and Hāmvīra's son Narahari Patro served under Pratāparudra. Ferishta's references to Kapilendra and Puruṣottama are full of confusion and should not be accepted, unless corroborated by other evidence. But we are not inclined to share R. D. Banerjee's opinion, who has characterised the story of disputed succession as "a myth", when the existence of Hāmvīra, ignored by Banerjee, has been established beyond doubt.[10]

### *The date of Puruṣottama's accession*

The date of accession is important because in 1471 A.D. Puruṣottama lost the Godāvarī-Krishnä Doab. R. D. Banerjee refers to the Jagannātha temple inscription which was incised "on the 2nd *Aṅka* of the reign of Puruṣottama, i.e., the year of his accession = 12th April 1470 A.D." (*History of Orissa*, I, p. 307). Let us compare the dates and *Aṅkas* of Puruṣottama's inscriptions in the temples of Jagannātha and Śrikūrmam (Chicacole Taluk, Vizagapatam district).

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[9] कृष्णावेणी नदीकूले आवाहन होइले—*Mādalā Pāñji.*

[10] *Puruṣottama* gave freedom to "हम्मीर महारिपु" who had submitted to him. *Sarasvatī Vilāsam*, I. 22. Edited by R. Shama Sastri.

### *The Jagannāth Temple Inscriptions*

Śaka 1392=April 1470=2nd *Aṅka*=1st year.
Śaka 1392=November 1470=3rd *Aṅka*=2nd year.
Śaka 1407=August 1485=19th *Aṅka*=16th year.
The time of accession is between Bhādrapada Ś.1391 and Bhādrapada Ś.1392=September 1469 and Sept. 1470.

### *The Śrīkūrmam Temple Inscriptions*

1. Śaka 1392-*Āsvin*-7th *Aṅka*-5th year-No. 365 of 1896.
   Gift of Pratāpa Sarvajña Deva of Palkoṇḍā.
2. Śaka 1393-*Āṣāḍa-7th Aṅka*-5th year-No. 274 of 1896.
   Gift of Erramarāju Mājhi of Narsapur.
3. Śaka 1393 *Caitra*-7th *Aṅka*-5th year-No. 366 of 1896.
   Gift of Pratāpa Sarvjña Deva of Palkoṇḍā.
4. Śaka 1417-*Kārtika*-37th *Aṅka*-30th year-No. 347 of 1896.
   Gift of Māki Seṭhi of Reṅgālipeṇṭha.

The time of accession is between Bhādrapada Ś.1388 and Bhādrapada 1389=September 1466 and September 1467. The Jagannātha temple inscriptions prove that Puruṣottama's claim to the throne was not recognized in North Orissa before A.D. 1470. A new *Aṅka* began in North Orissa when he ascended the throne at Cuttack. R. D. Banerjee quoted wrong *Aṅkas* in his list of Śrīkūrmam inscriptions, (*History of Orissa*, I, p. 318), as he entirely depended on the late M. M. Chakravarti's monograph in *J.A.S.B.* written in 1900.

### *The date and cause of the Kāñcī expedition*

Puruṣottama marched up to Kāñcī in the Chingleput district, about 1469 A. D. He was in the southern part of the empire at that time and it was natural that he should first try to complete the work left unfinished by his father. It is just possible that he wanted to marry the princess of Karṇāṭa. It can be proved that Puruṣottama married the princess not later than 1475 A.D. very probably before A.D. 1471. Pratāparudra's son Vīrabhadra must have been at least 20 years old in A.D. 1515 to be appointed commander of the famous Fort of Koṇḍavidu in the Guntur district, by his father (A.R. No. 272 of 1897) and of Malebennur district in Hoyśala Nāḍu by Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya (*Epigraphia Carnatica*, vol. XI). We can assume that Pratāparudra was at least 20 years old when Vīrabhadra was born. The conquest of the Godāvarī-Krishnā-Doab by Muhammad III Bahmani interposed a wedge between Orissa and Karṇāṭa or Vijayanagara between A.D. 1471 and 1482. There is nothing which goes against the evidence of the *Mādalā*

*Pāñjī* that Puruṣottama married the princess after defeating the king of Karṇāṭa.

But this war in distant land against a powerful enemy impaired the strength of the Orissan army. Thus it befell that immediately after Puruṣottama's coronation at Cuttack in 1470 A.D. Muhammad III seized the Doab as stated in Ferishta's book and *Burhan-I-Ma'asir*.

### *The relation of Orissa with Karṇāṭa*

Kapilendra and Puruṣottama's relations with the rulers of Karṇāṭa were not amicable. Kapilendra defeated the king of Karṇāṭa and seized Kāncī in the Chingleput district as recorded in the Gopināthpur temple inscription (*J.A.S.B.* 1900). In A.D. 1462 he occupied the northern Tamil districts. According to the Anantavaram inscription of his grandson, Kapilendra beseiged with his troops, Vidyānagarī, the city of the king of Karṇāṭa[11], and wrested high tribute from him. Puruṣottama also defeated the king of Karṇāṭa who "negotiated with him with folded hands out of fear, offering him Udayādri"[12]. It is evident that Narasiṃha had seized the province of Udayagiri when the Doab passed into the hands of the Muslims.

The Anantavaram inscription refers to the conquest of Udayagiri, after the death of Muhammad III. Narasiṃha is mentioned as the king of Karṇāṭa but there is no reference to the marriage of the Karṇāṭa princess. Moreover, Udayagiri was in possession of Puruṣottama before Muhammad Shah's conquest of the Doab in A.D. 1471. There is no doubt about the fact that Puruṣottama recovered his southern dominions up to the river Penner after the death of Muhammad in A.D. 1482. We may tentatively say that Puruṣottama regained the possession of Pākanāḍu (which comprised roughly the Ongole Taluk of the Guntur district and the Taluks of the Nellore district north of the Penner including Udayagiri) during the reign of Sāluva Narasiṃha (A.D. 1486-92). Pākanāḍu almost corresponded with Udayagiri *Rājyam*. The Gajapatis finally lost Pākanāḍu, when the fort of Udayagiri fell in June 1514 (Butterworth and

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[11] प्रसह्य कर्णाट महीपतेः पुरीं निरुध्य विद्यानगरीं निजैर्बलैः v. 8.

[12] सन्धया भय याचनाञ्जलि महोदत्वोदयाद्रिं भया
दात्मानः मुमुचे नृसिह नृपतिः कर्णाट देशाधवः v. 13.

See also *Sarasvatī Vilāsam*, I. 22.

जीवग्राहमति प्रगृह्य समरे कर्णाट भुमिधवः
दीनोक्तैः प्रवणं नृसिंह मनुजाधीशं पुनस्त्यक्तवान्

Chetty, *Nellore Inscriptions*, vol. III, No. 40). Kṛṣṇadeva captured Tirumala Rāutarāya, the Commander of the Fort[13]. Tirumala is stated to be an uncle of Pratāparudra in A.R. No. 203 of 1892. Was he a brother of Hāmvīra?

We have stated in brief the arguments for asserting that the Kāñcī-Kāverī tradition was based on historical facts. We shall now try to find out the names of the Kāñcī or Karṇāṭa king and of his daughter, and the significance of the name, Kāñcī-Kāverī.

Popular tradition names the Kāñcī king Kalevara or Kalevareśvara (Kalavargeśvara?). This is not a South Indian name. We want to identify the Karṇāṭa king (whose capital was supposed to be Kāñcī) with Sāḷuva Narasiṃha, the hereditary Governor of the Candragiri *Rājyam* or province of Karṇāṭa. He was the *de facto* ruler of the kingdom, while king Virūpākṣa III at Vijayanagara was only a figurehead, as will be evident from the inscriptions quoted below.

A.D. 1471—A.R. No. I of 1905—Narasiṃha is styled Mahārāja.

A.D. 1477—A.R. No. 208 of 1935—It refers to Narasiṃha as "ruling the earth". These inscriptions make no mention of Virūpākṣa III, who was reigning at Vijayanagara.

Thus Narasiṃha was wielding supreme power long before his actual usurpation of the Vijayanagara throne about A. D. 1486 and figured in the tradition as the king of Karṇāṭa. The distance between Candragiri in the Chittoor district, the seat of Narasiṃha's government, and Kāñcī will be about 80 miles. It is possible that a line of petty chiefs was ruling at Kāñcī as subordinates of the Sāḷuvas. Narasiṃha Nāyaka, the commander of Narasiṃha, defeated one Koneti Rāja, ruler of Kāñcī in A.D. 1490 (A.R. No. 259 of 1911). But an inscription dated A.D. 1467 (A. R. No. 658 of 1919) tells us that Kāñcī was a part of the Karṇāṭa kingdom.

From the present state of our knowledge it is not possible to explain clearly the significance of the name Kāñcī-Kāverī. The Kāverī basin was ruled by petty chiefs at that time. Narasiṃha captured Seringapatam (*Varāha Purāṇa*; *Sources of Vijayanagara History*, p. 88). Narasā Nāyaka, Narasiṃha's commander and the father of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya, was stated to have defeated the Marava ruler of Madura. (*Acyutābhyudayam—Sources of V.H.*, p. 106) and the Henna ruler of Seringapatam on the Kāverī (*Sources of V.H.*, p. 106). Thus the tradition is not wrong in stating the fact that the kingdom of Kāñcī extended up to the Kāverī. Kāñcī was mentioned as the capital of Karṇāṭa, because of the glamour of the name of this ancient sacred place. (See also Sewell's *Antiquities*, II, p. 4).

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[13] उदयगिरि दुर्गम साधिनचि (Seized) तिरुमल राउतराया महापात्रुनिन् पाट्टु कुनि (captured)— A.R. No. 272 of 1897.

The tradition tells us that Puruṣottama married Padmāvatī, the princess of Karṇāṭa. The *Mādalā Pāñjī* calls her "*Padminī Kanyā*". Probably Rūpāmbikā was given this name, she being *Padminī* or a very beautiful damsel. Likewise, Pratāparudra's daughter, who was married to Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya, had different names. She is named Jaganmohinī in *Rāyavācakamu* and Tukkā in Kumāra Dhūrjaṭi's *Kṛṣnarāya Vijayamu*. She is called Bhadrā in the commentary of *Prabodha Candrodaya* of Krishna Misra, the commentator being Nadindla Gopamantri, a subordinate of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya.

In this connection it may be pointed out that Pratāparudra had a wife named Padmā, as stated in *Sarasvatīvilāsam*[14].

We find pictorial representation of the Kāñcī-Kāverī expedition on a wall of the audience-hall of the temple of Jagannātha. In *Beḍā-Parikramā* ("A walk around the sacred enclosure") written by Balarāma Dāsa in the reign of Pratāparudra (1497-1540 A.D.) we come across the following lines:—

"After (visiting) this, you will find the representations of the two brothers galloping valiantly towards Kāñcī-Kāverī, on the wall of the Jagamohana.[15]

Thus in the next generation supernatural element was associated with historical fact. Both Kapilendra and Puruṣottama claimed to be nominees of Jagannātha. (See my "*History of Mediaeval Vaishnavism in Orissa*," pp. 42-43). Puruṣottama himself recorded that he got the throne because of the dispensation of Jagannātha (A.R. No. 226 of 1936). Jagannātha who gave him the throne naturally helped him in the war against the *de facto* ruler of the Karṇāṭa kingdom.

People in those days had implicit faith in miracles. Acyutānanda Dāsa, a great Vaiṣṇava of Orissa and a contemporary of Balarāma Dāsa writes that he personally witnessed the absorption of Caitanya within the image of Jagannātha.[16]

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[14] "परिणेता पद्मा पद्मालयेला महिला महिलानां" ;
"वीर रुद्रोऽपि पद्माश्लिष्ट तनुः"; "कटक नगरीं पद्मा पद्मालयेला महिलाभि स्समं संमानयन्

[15] एथु अनन्तरे जगमोहनरे देखिव वेनि भांइङ्कि ।
वीर थे सत्वरे चडिणा घोडारे काञ्चि कावेरि पाइङ्कि ॥

The two brothers—Jagannātha and Balarāma.

[16] "Lord Caitanya, the great dancer, chanted the name of Rādhā and like a flash of lightning absorbed himself within the sacred body of Jagannātha." *Sūnya Saṃhitā*, Canto I.

The historical importance of the Kāñcī-Kāverī tradition lies in the fact that it marked the zenith of Orissan imperialism. In the sixties of the 15th century, the army of Orissa had overrun the southern country up to the Kāverī. After this, a gradual decline took place. The political sway of the Gajapatis no more extended beyond Pākanaḍu. In 1516 Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya advanced up to Siṃhācalam (A. R. No. 243 of 1899). Pratāparudra had to cede him the territory south of the Krishna. Shortly after the death of Pratāparudra in A.D. 1540, the Godāvarī-Krishnā-Doab was seized by Quli Qutb Shah of Golkonda. (See *H.I.S.I.*) In 1568 A.D., a hundred years after the Kāñcī expedition Orissa lost her independence. Under the influence of Vaiṣṇavism this story of martial exploits was transformed into a story of miracle and romance.

P. Mukherjee

# Jahangir's Relations with the Jains

It has been said that Jahangir was not so tolerant towards other religions, as his father Akbar was, and examples are cited of his persecution of the Sikh and Jain religions. It has now been agreed among scholars that he executed the Sikh Guru Arjun not because he was the head of the Sikh religion but because he acted treasonably in helping Khusrau with money and encouraging him in his rebellious design (e.g. by investing him with the mark of royalty, *kashqa*) against his imperial father. Similarly his orders for banishing all the Jain sects from his realm are taken as evidence of the persecution of the Jains. An examination of contemporary events does not support this charge of indiscriminate persecution of Jains and Jainism.

I have already related[1] that Jahangir was incensed at the dissolute conduct of a Darsaṇi, and in a fit of passion not only did he expel him but ordered the Darsaṇis as well as all Jains ( सेवडे ) without distinction to be unrobed or banished from the realm. The Darsaṇis began to flee in every direction, hid in underground rooms (भूहिमां, पाताल पैसे), in caves or in jungles, others fled to Lahore, Cutch etc. Some of them were captured by Yavanas, thrown into dungeon-cells and were denied even food or drink. The Jain *saṅgha* at Agra requested Yugapradhāna Jinacandrasūri to come to Agra and intercede with the Emperor. He did so and ultimately prevailed upon him to withdraw the order, so that the Jains were allowed free movement in his empire. This incident is referred to in contemporary Jain literature.

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[1] Vide my article *Jain Influence at Mughal Court* in the *Proceedings of Indian History Congress, 3rd Session*, pp. 1070 ff.

I am quoting some relevant verses :

(a) From *Śrīyugapradhāna-nirvāṇa-rāsa* (*Aitihāsik Jain Kāvya-saṃgraha*, pp. 79 ff).

पातिसाहि सलेम सटोप, कियउ दरसणियां सु कोप ।
ए कामणगारा कामी, दरबार थी दूरि हरामी ॥७॥
एकन कुं पाग वंधावउ, एकन कुं नाश्रास श्रणावउ ।
एकन कुं देशवटौ जंगल दीजै, एकन कुं पखाली कीजैं ॥८॥

... ... ... ...

पातिशाहि हुंतउ जे जुठउ, पूज्यभाग बलइ श्रति तुढउ ।
जाउ विचरउ देश हमारे, तुम्ह फिरतां कोइ न वारेइ ॥२७॥

(b) Poet Samayasundara says :

एकदिन पातशाहि श्रागरै कोपियौ, दर्शनी एक श्राचार चुकौं ।
शहरथी दूरि काढौ सबै सेवडा, बवडा हाथ फुरमान मुक्यो ॥२॥

... ... ... ...

श्रजव की छाप फुरमान करि श्राखियाँ, केडला गुनहु सहु माफकीधा ॥६॥

In a *paṭṭāvalī* of the Kharataragaccha sect there is a veiled insinuation that the misconducting Darsaṇi belonged to the Tapāgaccha sect. It appears, however, that the insinuation is unfounded, as the literature of the Tapāgaccha sect also mentions this incident, e.g. a verse from *Vijayatilaka-sūri-rāsa*.

The offending person is called **वेषधारी**. Jinacandra explained to the Emperor that for the offence of an individual, the entire Saṃgha should not have been judged guilty and banished.

(c) Labdhiśekhara's song (*A.J.K.S.* p. 98).

साहि सलेम कोपइ चढयइ...
श्रीपातिशाह वोलाविया सहीए जंगम जुगप्रधान ।
धरम मरम कहि बूझयउ सहीए, तुरत दोया फुरमान ॥

(d) Keśaramuni in a Ms. preserved in Śrī-Jinadattasūri-jñāna-bhaṃḍāra at Surat (*A.J.K.S.* p. 103).

युगवर श्रीजिनचन्द्रजी, जगि जिनशासनि चन्द रे ।
दरसनी जिन मुगता करी, सोलसित्तर वासि रे ॥

The incident also finds mention in *Bhānucandra-caritra*, *paṭṭāvalī* of Kṣamākalyāṇa, etc. as well as in *Jahangīrnāmā*. This date is Saṃvat 1669 (=A.D. 1611-1612). Jinacandra is said to have exercised much influence on Jahangir as he had on Akbar..

The Sūri's disciple Jinasiṃhasūri (original name Mānasiṃha, then Mahimarāja) is claimed to have influence over Akbar and

Jahangir alike. Rājasamudra (*alias* Jinarājasūri), a disciple of Jinasiṃhasūri, says that Jahangir honoured him much and sent Mukarrab Khan to invest him with the title of Yugapradhāna.

(a)...जहांगीर सलेम संतुष्टहृदय थकइ श्रीमुकुरब खानइ पोते मोकली
—महोतसव पूर्वक युगप्रधान पदवी (दीधी) । इहक श्रीजिनसिंहसूरि
—*Yugapradhānasūri*, p. 177.

(b) श्रीसिंह रे...a song by Harṣanandana.

In Saṃ. 1670-71 he became the leader of the Kharataragaccha. While he was at Bikaner (Saṃ. 1674) Jahangir who loved the Sūri and was anxious to see him sent a farman to his officers asking them to send him to Agra.

हिव श्रीशाहि सलेम मानसिंहसुं घरि प्रेम ।
इक वेर मानसिंह आवइ, तउ मन मुझ सुख पावइ । जिनराजसुरिरास

Jinasiṃha left Bikaner for Agra, but after having passed Merta, his health failed and he returned to Merta and died there (Saṃ. 1674=A.D. 1617).

But contemporary history tells a different tale. At the time of Khusrau's rebellion one Mansingh prophesied that Jahangir's reign would last but two years. This encouraged Rai Singh of Bikaner to rebel, but he was pardoned. Later on Jahangir wishing to punish Mansingh, summoned him to Agra, but the latter took poison on his way from Bikaner and died. Mr. K. P. Jain, however, thinks that this Mansingh was a different person and was not the same as Mānasiṃha *alias* Jinasiṃha Yugapradhāna. The followers of the *yati* of Bikaner only were expelled, but not "all Jains" who according to Prof. Sriram Sharma "were punished irrespective of their political proclivities."

It is said that while Jahangir was sojourning at Mandu (Maṇḍapagarh) he heard from a noble named Candū, the leader of the Jainsaṃgha there, of Śrī Vijayadevasūri, a Jain saint and wanted to hear his discourse. Accordingly he issued a *farman* inviting him to come to Mandu. The *ācārya* came from Stambhatīrtha or Khambat (Cambay, Gujrat) and reached Mandu (on Āśvin Śukla 13). Next day at noon he discoursed on religion in the picture gallery (*tasbīr-khānā*). Jahangir conferred on him the *viruda* of Mahātapā. This is related in *Vijayadeva-māhātmya* composed by Śrī-Vallabha Pāṭhaka.[2]

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[2] Upadhyāyā Vallabha was the disciple of Jñānavimala Upādhyāya; and was a very learned scholar. His works are—(a) a commentary on *Silocchu-nāma-koṣa*

अथालावसरे **श्रीमन्मंडपं** सर्वसम्प्रदाम् ।
पत्तनं **मण्डपं** नाम वाभात्युतसवमण्डपम् ॥१॥
पातिसाहि जहांगीर सिलेम साहिरुत्तमः ।
हिन्दु-तुरुष्क भुपालनायक स्तत्र शोभते ॥२॥
भो चन्द्रसंघप ! क्वास्ति धर्माऽऽचार्यस्तवाधुना ?
**विजयदेवसूरीन्द्रो** नाऽमिलत् स कथं च नः ॥७॥
पातिसाहि जहांगीर महातपा अयं गुरुः ।
विजयदेवसूरीन्द्र इति ख्यातोऽभवद्भुवि ॥४२॥

See also verses 19, 23, 24, 32,—*Proceedings of the Seventh Oriental Conference*, pp. 978, 987-89.

Some account of Vijayadevasūri (belonging to the Tapāgaccha sect) is given in the introduction of *A.J.K.S.* (pp. 97, 98). He became the *paṭṭadhara* of Vijayasenasūri (alias जैसिंघजी, or जयसिंह birth name) after his death in Cambay in Saṃ. 1672 (=A.D. 1615).

The following relevant verses are quoted from *A.J.K.S.*

A. साहि सलेम उदार, करवा सुगुरु दीदार ।
'मांडवगढ' गुरु तेड्या, कुमति ना मद फेड्या ॥२०॥
देखी 'तपगच्छनाह', खुसी भयो पातिसाह ।
जगगुरुके पठिपूरे, बडे विजयदेवसूरे ॥२१॥
शाहि जहांगीर थापइ, नाम 'महातपा' आपइ ।

—(From *Vijayasiṃhasūri Vijayaprakāśa-rāsa*, p. 355 of *A.J.K.S.*)

B. जेसिंग नुं निरवाणं, खंभाइति जगभाण ।
पाटि पटोधरपूरो, 'बिजयदेवसुरिउ' ॥१४॥

His *paṭṭadhara* was Vijayasiṃhasūri.[3] One of his disciples was Kanakavijaya. It is said also that Bhānucandra Upādhyāya was

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(Saṃ. 1654), (b) a commentary on *Liṅgānuśāsana* (Saṃ. 1661), (c) *Abhidhānanāma-mālāvṛtti* (Saṃ. 1667), (d) *Vijayadevamāhātmya*.

संवत सोल इक्यासो(य)इ उत्सव हुआ आनन्द ।
विजयदेवसूरि थापीना 'विजयसिंहसूरिन्द' ॥६८॥
—*AJKS.*, p. 362 Saṃ. 1681=A.D. 1624.

[3] See B above.

invited by Jahangir to come to his court and discourse on the Jain religion, just as he used to do so in the presence of his father.[4]

मिल्या भूपनइ भूप आनन्द पाया, भलइं तुमे भलइं अही भाणचंद आया ।
तुम पास थिइं मोहि सुख वहुत होवइ, सहरियार भणवा तुम वाट जोवइ ॥१३०९॥
पढावो अम्ह पूतकुं धर्मवात, जिंउ अवल सुणता तुम्ह पासि तात ।
भाणचंद ! कदीम तुमे हो हमारे, सवही थकी तुम्ह हो हमही प्यारे ॥१३१०॥
—हीर विजयसूरिरास, ऋषभदास कवि-विरचित ।

It appears that Jahangir did not indiscriminately persecute the Jains. Many manuscripts and images made during his reign are still to be found in Northern India.[5] Mr. K. P. Jain says that he found a *guṭkā* in the *bhaṇḍār* of a Digambar Jain temple at Mainpuri,[6] the *praśasti* of which runs thus:

Atha saṃvatsare Śrīnṛpa Vikramādityarāje. Saṃvat 1680 Jyeṣṭha māse śuklapakṣe parvaṇī navamī bhoma dine Śrī Nurudīṃ Jahāṃgīra pādasāhi-rājya-pravartamāne Śrī Kāṣṭhā-saṃghe Māthurānve Pukkaragaṇe Bhaṭṭāraka Śrī Guṇacandra *devān, tatpaṭṭe Bhaṭṭaraka Śrī Sakalacandrah, tatpaṭṭe maṇḍalācārya* Mahindraseṇa tatsiṣya paṇḍita Bhagavati dāsu......

He has given an account of the composition of the poet Bhagavatī Das Agravala of Shahjadipur which is situated probably in the Farukkhabad district. In one his poems there is a reference to Jahangir.

गुरु मुनि माहिंद सेनु हुइ, पदपंकज नमि तासु हों ।
सहरि सुहावइ बुडिए, भनत भगोंती दासु हो ॥ मेरी मुकति हमारी ।
राजवलि जहांगीर कह फिरिय तिस आण हो ।
सांसरसवर्सुविंदा धरहु संवतु गुणहु सुजान हो ॥

K. P. MITRA

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[4] *Proc. of Seventh Oriental Conference*, p. 978. where reference is made to सूरीश्वर और सम्राट् p. 241.

[5] *Jaina Siddhanta Bhāskar*, 5, 3. p. 144.

[6] *Ibid.*, 4, 3, pp. 176, 182.

# The Saṃvatsarapradīpa

This work has been mentioned eight times in Śrīnāthācāryacūḍāmaṇi's *Kṛtya-tattvārṇava*. On five occasions it has been referred to as a secondary source of certain authoritative verses of the Purāṇas or Smṛti Saṃhitās: on one occasion, for the opinion expressed on the authority of certain Purāṇic verses; and on another, for not containing certain unauthoritative verses ascribed to the *Śiva-p.*[1]

In *Kṛtya-tattvārṇava*, fol. 83a the '*Saṃvatsarapradīpa*' (henceforth abbreviated as *SP.*) is called a 'Gauḍa-saṃgraha', and on fol. 35b this work is named as '*Gauḍa-saṃvatsarapradīpa*' (henceforth abbreviated as *Gauḍa-SP.*) A '*Gauḍa-SP.*' is also mentioned in Gadādhara's *Kālasāra* (pp. 82 and 262). Hence a question may be raised as to whether the '*SP.*' and the '*Gauḍa-SP.*', mentioned by these authors, are the same, and whether there was any other *SP.* different from that of Gauḍa (Bengal).

In the Dacca University collection there is an incomplete Ms[2] of a *SP.* in which almost all the references to, and quotations from, the

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[1] For these references see *Kṛtya-tattvārṇava* (Dacca University Ms. No. 4630), fols. 54a, 60a, 60b, 68b 81a, 87b-88a; fol. 356; and fol. 83a respectively.

[2] No. 4632. This incomplete Ms. consists of fols. 1-59 (though really it consists of 58 folios, the folio after fol. 53 being numbered 55). It begins as follows:—

ॐ गुरवे नमः ।

जयति श्रीसरस्वत्योरुपास्योऽसुरदारणः ।
धर्मार्थकाममोक्षार्थिकृतप्रत्यूहवारणः ॥

अथ संक्रान्तिः ।

अयने द्वे विषुवे द्वे चतस्रः षडशीतयः ।
चतस्रो विष्णुपद्यश्च संक्रान्त्यो द्वादश स्मृताः ॥

* * *

and ends thus (towards the beginning of the section on Prakīrṇaka):—

देवलः—

दिवाहृतैर्जलैः स्नानं निशि कुर्यान्निमित्ततः ।
प्रक्षिप्य च सुवर्णं वा सखि लग्नमेव वा ( ? संनिधाप्याग्निमेव वा ) ॥

It is to be noted that though this Ms. is anonymous, the coincidence of its beginning with that of the Ms. of the *Saṃvatsarapradīpa* noticed by Haraprasad Shastri in his *Notices of Sanskrit Mss.*, I, pp. 390-391 (No. 388) shows that this is a Ms. of the *Saṃvatsarapradīpa*. This identification of our Ms. is supported by the fact that the great majority of the references to, and quotations from, the '*Saṃvatsarapradīpa*' in different Smṛti Nibandhas are traceable in this Ms., although it is incomplete. (For a list of these references and quotations see the following foot-note).

*SP.*' or '*Gauḍa-SP.*' made in the Smṛti Nibandhas are traceable.

The Ms. of the *Saṃvatsarapradipa*, noticed by Shastri, is complete. It begins thus :

ॐ नमो गणेशाय ।

जयति श्रीसरस्वत्योरुपास्योऽसुरदारणः ।
धर्मार्थकाममोक्षार्थिकृतत्नप्रत्यूहवारणः ॥
अयने द्वे विषुवे द्वे चतस्रः षडशीतयः ।
चतस्रो विष्णुपद्यश्च संक्रान्त्यो द्वादश स्मृताः ॥ etc. etc.

and it ends as follows :—

मन्दमङ्गलषष्ठीषु द्वादश्यां श्राद्ध-वासरे ।
वस्त्रानां क्षारसंयोगो दहत्यासप्तमं कुलं ॥ इति प्रकीर्णकं ॥

Its colophon runs as follows :

समाप्तश्चायं सम्वत्सरप्रदीपाख्यो ग्रन्थः ।

For another Ms. of the *Saṃvatsarapradipa* see H. P. Shastri, *Catalogue of Palm-leaf and Selected Paper Mss. belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal*, Calcutta 1905, p. 60. (आदि खण्डितः । मैथिलमक्षरं । शकाब्दाः १४८७).

It is to be noted that none of the Mss. mentioned above contains the name of the author.

3 For instance, the references to, and quotations from, the '*Saṃvatsarapradipa*' (or '*Gauḍa-saṃvatsarapradipa*') in

| (1) *Kṛtya-tattvārṇava* (of Śrīnāthācāryacūḍāmaṇi), | *Saṃvatsara-pradīpa,* |
|---|---|
| fol. 35b (quoted as from *Gauḍa-saṃvatsarapradīpa*) | =fol. 39a. |
| fol. 54a | =fol. 14a. |
| fol. 60a | =fols. 22b-23a. |
| fol. 60b | =fol. 24a. |
| fol. 68b | =fol. 26a. |
| fol. 81a | =fol. 32b. |
| fols. 83a (...शिवपुराणीयमिति कृत्वा पठितानि वचनानि अमूलान्येव,...सम्वत्सरप्रदीपादिगौडसंग्रहेषु अदृष्टत्वात् । यथा...) | —No such verses of the *Śiva-p.* are found in the *Saṃvatsara-pradipa.* |

fol. 87b-88a = fol. 45b. (Some of the verses are not found in our Ms.). All the quoted verses occurred at the end of the *Saṃvatsara-pradipa*, as H. P. Shastri's description of a complete Ms. of the *Saṃvatsarapradipa* shows. (See Shastri, *Notices of Sans. Mss.*, I, pp. 390-391, No. 388).

| (2) *Durgotsava-viveka* (of Śrīnātha), | *Saṃvatsara-pradīpa,* |
|---|---|
| p. 44 (धनञ्जयकृतसम्वत्सरप्रदीपे... ) | = × |
| (3) *Kālasāra* (of Gadādhara), | |
| p. 82 (गौडसम्वत्सरप्रदीप ) | = × |
| p. 262 (गौडदेशीयसम्वत्सरप्रदीप ) | =fol. 58b. |
| (4) *Smṛti-tattva* (of Raghunandana), | |
| I, p. 3 | =fols. 39b-40a. |
| p. 34 | = × |

It is to be noted that the second verse 'māghe māsi site pakṣe', derived by Raghunandana from the '*Saṃvatsara-pradipa*', is the same as that derived

Moreover, the verse 'माघे मासि सिते पक्षे etc.' (on Sarasvatī-pūjā), which

| (*Smṛti-tattva* continued) | *Saṃvatsarapradīpa* |
|---|---|
| by the *Kālasāra* (p. 82) from the '*Gauḍa-saṃvatsarapradīpa.*' | |
| pp. 42-43 | = fols. 19b-20a. |
| p. 46 (twice) | = fol. 19b. |
| p. 49 | = fols. 39b-40a. |
| p. 54 | = fol. 20b. |
| p. 58 | = fol. 32b. |
| p. 69 | = fol. 24a. |
| p. 105 | = fol. 38b. |
| p. 106 | = fol. 39a. (The verse 'ekādaśīm upavaset' is not found in our Ms.). |
| p. 125 | = fol. 36a. |
| p. 129 | = fol. 49a. |
| p. 142 | = fol. 1b. |
| p. 146 | = fol. 2a. |
| p. 149 | = fol. 4a. |
| p. 152 | = fol. 58b. |
| p. 155 | = fol. 59a. |
| p. 157 | = fol. 58b. |
| p. 158 | = fol. 58b. |
| p. 161 | = fol. 59a. |
| p. 162 | = fol. 59a. |
| p. 163 (twice) | = fols. 49a. and 22b-23a. |
| p. 167 | = fol. 55b. |
| p. 254 | = fol. 55b. |
| p. 397 | = fol. 42b. |
| p. 508 | = fol. 42b. |
| p. 713 | = fol. 52a. |
| pp. 741-2 | = fol. 52a. |
| p. 777 | = fol. 53b. |
| p. 787 | = fol. 42b. |
| p. 847 | = fols. 22b-23a. |
| p. 848 | = fol. 55b. |
| II p. 4 | = fols. 39b-40a. |
| p. 8 | = fols. 39b-40a. |
| p. 40 | = fol. 38b. |
| p. 51 (सम्वत्सरप्रदीपे हलायुधोऽपि एतन्मतानुसारी सन्निदमुक्तवान्, यथा...) | = fols. 39a. and 38b. |
| p. 61 | = fol. 42b. |
| p. 62 (thrice) | = fols. 43b, 43b and 41a respectively. |
| (*Smṛti-tattva* continued). | *Saṃvatsarapradīpa* |
| p. 65 | = fol. 43a. |
| p. 76 | = fol. 44a. |
| p. 77 | = fol. 45b. |
| pp. 80-81 | = fol. 43a. |
| p. 83 | = fols. 43b-44a, 43b and 44a respectively. |
| p. 327 (अतएव सम्वत्सरप्रदीपे हलायुधेनोक्तम् ... ) | = × |
| pp. 382-3 (धर्म्मप्रदीपसम्वत्सरप्रदीपयोः) | = × |
| p. 426 | = fol. 4a. |
| p. 494 | = × |
| (5) *Durgāpūjā-tattva* (of Raghu-nandana), | |
| p. 24 | = fol. 24a |
| (6) *Tithi-viveka* (of Sūlapāṇi), fol. 1b. | = × |
| (7) *Durgotsava-viveka* (of Śūlapāṇi), | |
| p. 3 | = fol. 24a. |
| (8) *Varṣa-kaumudī* (of Govindānanda), | |
| p. 17 | = × |
| p. 50 | = fol. 38b. |
| p. 54 | = fol. 39b. |
| p. 64 | = fol. 45b. |
| p. 105 | = fol. 59a. |
| p. 181 | = fol. 42b. |
| p. 213 | = fols. 2a and 3a. The verse 'trayodaśyāṃ bhādrapade' is not found in our Ms. |
| p. 262 | = fol. 5b. |
| p. 315 | = fol. 18b. |
| p. 317 | = fol. 13a. |
| p. 357 | = fol. 22a. |
| p. 363 | = fols. 22b-23a. |
| pp. 449-450 | = fol. 26a. |
| p. 461 | = fols. 27b ff. |

is derived by Gadādhara from the *Gauḍa-SP.*,[4] is ascribed by Raghunandana to the *SP*. Hence it is certain that the *SP*. and *Gauḍa-SP*. (as drawn upon by Śūlapāṇi. Śrīnātha, Raghunandana, Gadādhara and others) are identical and that the present *SP*. (as represented by the Mss discovered) is decidedly a work of Bengal[5] and was sometimes characterised by the word *Gauḍa* prefixed to its title.

The words '*Saṃvatsarapradīpe tūttarārdhe*' used by Raghunandana while quoting a metrical line (*meṣasthe ca vidhau* etc.) in his *Smṛti-tattva*, I, p. 149, may lead one to suppose that the *SP*. consisted of two parts; but the word '*uttarārdha*' is used here with respect to the verse '*masūraṃ nimbapatrābhyāṃ*' and not to the *SP*., as is shown more clearly by Raghunandana himself in *Smṛti-tattva* II, p. 426: कृत्यचिन्तामणौऽर्मसूरं निम्बपत्राभ्यां योऽत्ति मेषगते रवौ । अपि रोषान्वितस्तस्य तत्तकः किं करिष्यति ॥' उत्तरार्धे तु मेषस्थे च विधौ तत्र नास्त्यङ्के विषजम् भयम्' इति सम्वत्सरप्रदीपे पाठः ।

As regards the authorship of the present *SP*. there is a difference of opinion[6] among scholars. According to Aufrecht, the *SP*. is a work

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| *Varṣa-kaumudī* (of Govindānanda continued) | *Saṃvatsara-pradīpa* | (9) *Nirṇaya-sindhu* (of Kamalākara-bhaṭṭa) | *Saṃvatsara-pradīpa* |
|---|---|---|---|
| p. 486 | =fol. 31a. | p. 9 | =fol. 55b. |
| pp. 539-540 | =fols. 43a, 43b. The verse 'mantreṇānena yaḥ kuryāt' is not found in our Ms. | p. 119 | =fol. 22b. |

Among the untraceable references and quotations, given above, there may be some which were peculiar to the Mss. of the *Saṃvatsarapradīpa* used by the respective Nibandhakāras. For instance, of an extract of three verses derived by the *Smṛti-tattva* (I, p. 106) from the '*Saṃvatsarapradīpa*', the first verse '*ekādaśīm upavaset* etc.' is not found (in our Ms. of the *Saṃvatsarapradīpa*; of the group of three verses on Tulasī-cayana-mantra (i.e. the formula for plucking Tulasī leaves), quoted as from the *Saṃvatsarapradīpa* in Govindānanda's *Varṣakaumudī*, pp. 539-540, the last one (*mantreṇānena yaḥ kuryāt* etc.) is not found in our Ms. of the *Saṃvatsarapradīpa*; and so on.

[4] See *Kālasāra*, p. 82.

[5] That the present *Saṃvatsarapradīpa* is a work of Bengal is shown not only by the *Kṛtya-tattvārṇava* (fol. 83a—सम्वत्सरप्रदीपादिगौडसंग्रहेषु ; also fol. 35b) and *Kālasāra* (p. 262—गौडदेशीयसम्वत्सरप्रदीपे) but also by the internal evidences contained in our Ms. Moreover, the earliest references to the *Saṃvatsarapradīpa* are made by the Bengal Nibandhas only.

[6] This difference of opinion as regards the authorship of the *Saṃvatsarapradīpa* is due most probably to the fact that this work was left anonymous by its author, as is shown by the present Mss which do not contain the name of the author

of Śūlapāṇi[7]; Raghunandana ascribes the authorship of this work clearly to Halāyudha[8]; whereas in Śrīnātha's *Durgotsava-viveka* Dhanañjaya is connected with this work as its author.[9] Now, the nature of the references made by Śūlapāṇi to the *SP*. shows that it can never be a work of his. So, we can safely reject Aufrecht's view without giving it any serious consideration.[10] Dhanañjaya's connexion with the present *SP*. as its author does not also seem to be probable, because the verse 'śakra-dhvajāt pakṣa-yute daśāhe' (on *Durgā-pūjā*), which Śrīnātha mentions as having occurred in the 'Dhanañjaya-kṛta-saṃvatsarapradīpa', is not found in the section on Durgā-pūjā in the present *SP*. Moreover, according to Raghunandana the second half (viz., ārabhya tasyāṃ daśamīṃ ca yāvat etc.) of this verse occurred in a Dhanañjaya-saṃgraha (and not in the 'Dhanañjaya-kṛta-saṃvatsarapradīpa' or a work of Halāyudha).[11] So, it seems that it was either Śrīnātha himself or a scribe of a Ms of Śrīnātha's *Durgotsava-viveka* who confused the *SP*. with Dhanañjaya's *Dharmapradīpa* (probably because the titles of both these works end in the word 'pradīpa') and wrote 'dhanañjaya-kṛta-saṃvatsarapradīpe' in place of 'dhanañjaya-kṛta-dharmapradīpe'. That Dhanañjaya has nothing to do with the authorship of the present *SP*. seems also to be shown by the fact that none of the references to, or quotations from, Dhanañjaya or Dhanañjaya-saṃgraha, which have been made in the

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either in the opening verse or in the colophons, or anywhere else in the Mss.

[7] *Catalogus Catalogorum*, p. 681.

[8] *Smṛti-tattva* II, p. 51 (सम्वत्सरप्रदीपे हलायुधोऽपि एतन्मतानुसारी सन्निदमुक्तवान् । यथा—अरुणोदय- वेलायां दशमी संगता यदि ।...इत्यादिवचनेषु अरुणशब्द आदित्यवाचको बोद्धव्यः । ) and p. 327 ( अतएव सम्वत्सरप्रदीपे हलायुधेनोक्तं—यदि वैमात्रेय-कनिष्ठोऽग्निमान्... )

That the *Saṃvatsarapradīpa* ascribed to Halāyudha is not different from our present *Saṃvatsarapradīpa*, is shown by the fact that the former reference is traceable in our present Ms. (fols. 39a and 38b).

[9] See *Durgotsava-viveka*, p. 44 ( धनञ्जयकृतसम्वत्सरप्रदीपे...दृश्यते—शक्रध्वजात् पक्षयुते दशाहे मूलर्क्षयुक्ता सितपञ्चमी या । आरभ्य तस्यां दशमीं च यावत् प्रपूजयेत् पर्वतराजपुत्रीम् ॥)

[10] Kane also differs from Aufrecht saying: "In spite of Aufrecht's view the *Saṃvatsarapradīpa* is not his (i.e. Śūlapāṇi's) work." See Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, I, pp. 394-5.

[11] *Smṛti-tattva* I, p. 66 अतएव, जिकनधनञ्जयसंग्रहयोः—'आरभ्य तस्यां दशमीं च यावत् प्रपूजयेत् पर्वतराजपुत्रीम्' इत्युक्तम् ।

Nabandhas in connexion with Durgā-pūja etc.,[12] is traceable in the present *SP*. As regards Raghunandana's information about Halāyudha's authorship of the '*SP*', there is no conclusive evidence for the solution of the problem beyond doubt. We are only to consider the facts that Raghunandana was a very careful and critical student of Smṛti and is, therefore, not expected to supply wrong information about the authorship of at least the comparatively late Smṛti Nibandhas of Bengal, and that in a few cases the references to, or quotations from, 'Halāyudha' in Raghunandana's *Smṛti-tattva* are traceable in the present *SP*.[13] Halāyudha's non-inclusion of the title of the *Saṃvatsarapradīpa* among the works mentioned by him in the introductory verses of his *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva* is no argument against his probable authorship of the *SP*., because the *SP*. might have been written by Halāyudha after his *Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva*.

The fact that Śūlapāṇi is the earliest known author to mention the present *SP*., shows that this work did not precede Śūlapāṇi by a very long period of time. So, from the point of date also, Halāyudha's authorship of the present *SP*. does not seem to be improbable.

The present *SP*. deals with the following topics :—

Determination of Saṃkrānti, and the rites and ceremonies to be performed on this occasion. The vows, rites and ceremonies to be performed in the different months of the year. Determination of Adhimāsa (intercalary month), Śrāddha. Daśami-niyamāh. Ekādaśi-nirūpaṇa. (In connexion with Ekādaśi, the following topics have been dealt with, viz., Śaṅkha-praśaṃsā i.e. praise of conch-shells, Gītā-māhātmya, Bhāgavata-pāṭha-māhātmya, Vaiṣṇava-vidheyā-vidheya i.e. the duties and non-duties of the Vaiṣṇavas, Tulasī-māhātmya, Ghaṇṭā-māhātmya, Āmalakī-māhātmya, Śālgrāma-śilā-jalādi-māhātmya, and Gandhādi-dāna-māhātmya). Dvādaśi-niyamāḥ. Gaṅgā-snāna. Śiva-māhātmya. Rudrākṣa-māhātmya, Go-grāsa-vidhi. Determination of proper time for different rites. Determination of Amāvāsyā. Solar and lunar eclipse. Miscellaneous (Prakīrṇaka).

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[12] For mention of Dhanañjaya or Dhanañjaya-saṃgraha see *Kṛtya-tattvārṇava*, fols. 47b-48a, 70a, 80a; *Smṛti-tattva* I, p. 66; *Smṛti-tattvasaṃgraha* (of Rāmabhadra Nyāyālaṃkāra Bhaṭṭācārya), fol. 68b (twice); and so on.

[13] For instance, the reference to, or quotations from, Halāyudha in

| *Smṛti-tattva* | *Saṃvatsarapradīpa*. |
|---|---|
| I. p. 469 | =fol. 45a. |
| pp. 791-2 | =fol. 59a. |
| p. 815 | =fol. 31a. |
| II. p. 38 | =fol. 38a. |

(There is no mention of the '*Tattva-sāgara*' or any other work as the source if the verse 'yathā śuklā etc.').

The authorities mentioned in our Ms are the following:—Śruti, Āgama, *Mahābhārata* (as well as its different Parvans, viz., Sabhā-parvan. Virāṭa-parvan, Rāja-dharma, Aśvamedha-parvan, Śānti-parvan, etc.), *Harivaṃśa*, *Brahma-p.*, *Viṣṇu-p.*, *Padma-p.*, *Bhaviṣya-p.*, *Matsya-p.*, *Skanda-p.*, *Varāha-p.*, *Vāmana-p.*, *Nāradīya-p.*, *Liṅga-p.*, *Kurma-p.*, *Garuḍa-p.*, *Brahmavaivarta-p.*, *Brahmāṇḍa-p.*, *Devī-p.*, *Viṣṇudharmottara*, *Bhaviṣyottara*, *Viṣṇu-rahasya*, *Śiva-rahasya*, *Saura-dharma*, *Nandiśvara-p.*, Viṣṇu, Kārṣṇājini Jātūkarṇa, Śāṭyāyana, Śaṅkha, Gārgya, Yama, Bṛhan-manu, Gobhila, Pracetas, Kuthumi, Parāśara, Manu, Kātyāyana, Jāvāla, Laghu-hārīta, Mārkaṇḍeya, Ṛṣyaśṛṅga, Śaivāgama, Śiva-śāstra. *Matsya-sūkta* (mentioned in a line written in the margin), Garga, Varāha, Jyotiṣa, *Brahma-siddhānta*, Pāṇini, Bhaṭṭapāda, Pāṣcātyāḥ, Kecit, Bahavaḥ, *Saṭtriṃśanmata*, Saṃgraha, Saṃpradāya.

It is to be noted that not a single name of a Nibandha or a Nibandhakāra occurs in our Ms. As a matter of fact, the author carefully avoids the mention of such names,[14] though he uses the words 'Pāścātyāḥ', 'Kecit', 'Bahavaḥ', 'Saṃgraha' etc. for the digests and their authors known to him.

Besides the present *Saṃvatsarapradīpa*, Bṛhaspati Rāyamukuṭa mentions a *Pāścātya-saṃvatsarapradīpa*, a *Bṛhat-saṃvatsarapradīpa* and a *Svalpa-saṃvatsarapradīpa* in his *Smṛti-ratnahāra*.[15] The last work is also mentioned in Śrīnātha's *Kṛtya-tattvārṇava* (fol. 77b). As Rāyamukuṭa draws upon the *Saṃvatsarapradīpa* also, and as the verses and views, for which the *Svalpa-saṃvatsarapradīpa* has been mentioned by Śrīnātha and Bṛhaspati Rāyamukuṭa, are not found in the present *SP*. although it deals with the relevant topics, it seems that these three works (viz., the *Pāśc ātya-saṃvatsarapradīpa*, the *Bṛhat-saṃvatsarapradīpa*, and the *Svalpa-saṃvatsarapradīpa*) are works quite different from the present *Saṃvatsarapradīpa*.

Bṛhaspati's mention of the *Bṛhat-saṃvatsarapradīpa* and the *Svalpa-saṃvatsarapradīpa* proves that these works, which, as their titles show, were certainly later than the *Saṃvatsarapradīpa*, must have been written not later than 1400 A.D.

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[14] This explains why the present *Saṃvatsarapradīpa*, if it is a late work of Halāyudha, does not mention any of his previous works.

[15] H. P. Shastri, *Descriptive Catalogue of Sans. Mss. ASB*, III, p. 228; *IHQ.*, XVII, p. 460.

# MISCELLANY

## Kokāmukha-tīrtha

Some years ago nó less than five copper-plate charters of the time of three emperors of the Gupta dynasty were discovered at a place called Dāmodarpur near the Phulbari Police Station in the Balurghat Subdivision of the Dinajpur District, Bengal. One of these records refers to the Gupta emperor Budha Gupta (477-95 A.D.), the *uparika* Mahārāja Jaya Datta, viceroy of the Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti*, and the *āyuktaka* Gaṇḍaka (or, Śaṇḍaka) who was in charge of the Kotivarṣa *viṣaya*. Gaṇḍaka is said to have been helped in the administration of the Koṭivarṣa district by the *nagaraśreṣṭhin* Ṛbhu Pāla, *sārthavāha* Vasu Mitra, *prathamakulika* Vara Datta and *prathamakāyastha* Vipra Pāla. The *śreṣthin* Ṛbhu Pāla one day approached the *adhiṣṭhānādhikaraṇa*, i.e., the office of administration at the headquarters of the district, with the following petition: हिमवच्छिखरे कोकामुखस्वामिनः चत्वारः कुल्यवापाः श्वेतवराहस्वामिनोपि सप्तकुल्यवापाः अस्मत्फलाशंसिना पुण्याभिवृद्धये डोङ्गाग्रामे पूर्वं मया अप्रदा अतिसृष्टकाः। तदहं तत्क्षेत्रसामीप्यभूमौ तयोराद्यकोकामुखस्वामिश्वेतवराहस्वामिनो नामलिङ्गमेनं देवकुलद्वयमेतत् कोष्ठिकाद्वयञ्च कारयितुमिच्छामि। अर्हथ वास्तुना सह कुल्यवापान् यथाक्रयमर्यादया दातुमिति। After having examined Ṛbhu Pāla's application, the *pustapālas* Viṣṇu Datta, Vijaya Nandin and Sthāṇū Nandin reported that some *Kulyavāpas* of land at the rate of three *dīnāras* per *Kulyavāpa* might be sold to the *śreṣṭhin*, because: अनेन हिमवच्छिखरे तयोः कोकामुखस्वामिश्वेतवराहस्वामिनोः अप्रदाः क्षेत्रकुल्यवापा एकादश दत्तकाः। तदर्थञ्च इह देवकुलकोष्ठिकाकरणं युक्तमेतद् विज्ञापितं तत्क्षेत्रसामीप्यभूमौ वास्तु दातुमिति। It should be pointed out that we have quoted above the epigraphic texts with slight emendations. For the actual text of the passages and their interpretation, see *Select Inscriptions*, I, pp. 328-30. For *Kulyāvāpa*, see *ibid.*, p. 501. Some of my earlier views on the subject have however to be modified in the light of fresh evidence that I am going to discuss in the present paper.

The expression *himavacchikhara* in the passages quoted above literally means "a peak of the Himalayas." But the village called Ḍoṅgāgrāma, where the donated lands were situated and where further lands were applied for, does not appear to have been far from Dāmodarpur, the findspot of the charter in question. The village is also mentioned in another Dāmodarpur record that was issued in the Gupta year 124 during the reign of Kumāra Gupta I. Another Dāmodarpur grant of the time of Budha Gupta dated in the year 163 mentions Vāyigrāmaka which is no other than the modern Baigram in the Bogra District not far away from the findspot of the record. The Dāmodarpur inscription of Gupta year 224 again refers to the purchase of five *Kulyavāpas* of land by the *Kulaputra* Amṛta Deva hailing from Ayodhyā for the following purpose: अत्रारण्ये भगवतः श्वेतवराहस्वामिनो देवकुले खण्डस्फुटितप्रतिसंस्कारकरणाय बलिचरुसत्रप्रवर्त्तन-गन्धधूपपुष्पप्रापन-मधुपर्कदीपाद्युपयोगाय च अप्रदाधर्म्मेण ताम्रपट्टीकृत्य क्षेत्रस्तोकं दातुमिति। In connection with the grant of land to the god Śvetavarāhasvāmin in this case, mention has been made of Svacchandapāṭaka, Lavaṅgasikā, Sāṭuvanāśramaka, Paraspatikā, the Jambūnadī and Puraṇavṛndikahari. This Pūraṇavṛndikahari has been identified by some scholars with modern Brindakoori 14 miles to the north of Dāmodarpur. It is therefore almost certain that the lands granted by Ṛbhu Pāla to the Gods Kokāmukhasvāmin and Śvetavarāhasvāmin lay in the Dāmodarpur region in the southern part of the Dinajpur District. But the temples of the two gods in question were situated in the Himalayan region far off from Dāmodarpur. It has therefore been suggested by some scholars that the mountainous region about the northern fringe of the modern Presidency of Bengal formed parts of the Koṭivarṣa *viṣaya* (Dinajpur area) or the Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti* (North Bengal). This hypothesis is apparently due to the fact that nobody has so far been able to determine the exact location of the temples of Kokāmukha and Śvetavarāha in the Himalayas.

A *tīrtha* called Kokāmukha or Varāhakṣetra is known from the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas*. Sometime ago Prof. H.C. Raychaudhuri drew my attention to chapters 219 and 229 of the *Brahma Purāṇa* which locate the holy place of pilgrimage in the Himalayas. The *Brahma Purāṇa* not only refers to the Kokāmukha *tīrtha* in the Himalayas but also to the Varāha form of Viṣṇu installed there and to the river called Kokā which runs through the place. Cf. कोकेति प्रथिता लोके शिशिराद्रिसमाश्रिता (११९।१७); कोकानदीति विख्याता गिरिराजसमाश्रिता। तीर्थकोटिमहापुण्या मद्रूपपरिपालिता॥ (११९।१०६); वराहदंष्ट्रासंलग्नाः पितरः कनकोज्ज्वलाः। कोकामुखे गतभयाः कृता देवेन विष्णुना॥ (११९।३९); एवं मयोक्तं वरदस्य विष्णोः कोकामुखे दिव्यवराहरूपम् (११९।११६), etc. But the *Brahma Purāṇa* does not help us at all in determining the exact location of the temple of Varāha at Kokāmukha in the Himalayas. For this we have to examine other Puranic texts. In this connection attention of scholars may be drawn to the *Varāha Purāṇa*.

Chapter 140 of the *Varāha Purāṇa* is styled *Kokāmukhamāhātmyavarṇana*. Here Varāha (Viṣṇu in the Boar form) declares to the goddess Earth: तव कोकामुखं नाम यन्मया पूर्वभाषितम्। बदरीति च विख्यातं गिरिराज शिलातलम्॥ स्थानं लोहार्गलं नाम म्लेच्छराजसमाश्रितम्। तथाप्यपि न मुञ्चामि एवमेतन्न

संशयः ॥ ( १४०।४-५ ). According to this passage, only three places on the earth are the abodes of Viṣṇu and they are (1) Kokāmukha, (2) Badari or Badarikāśrama and (3) Lohārgala, all in the Himalayas. Chapter 141 of the *Purāṇa*, styled *Badarikāśrama-māhātmya-varṇana*, refers to a number of holy spots in the region of the *tīrtha* now known as Badrīnārāyaṇa. They are Brahmakuṇḍa, Agnisatyapada, Indraloka, Pañcaśikha, Catuḥsrotaḥ, Vedadhāra, Dvādaśādityakuṇḍa, Lokapāla, Sthalakuṇḍa amongst hills, Meruvara, Mānasodbheda, Pañcasaraḥ, Somābhiṣeka, Somagiri, Urvaśīkuṇḍa, etc. Chapter 151 of the *Varāha Purāṇa*, styled the *Lohārgala-māhātmya-varṇana*, refers to the holy spots belonging to the Lohārgala *tīrtha* in the land of the Mlecchas in the Himalayas (cf. ततः सिद्धवटे गत्वा त्रिंशद् योजन दूरतः। म्लेच्छमध्ये वरारोहे हिमवन्तं समाश्रितम् ॥ तत्र लोहार्गले क्षेत्रे निवासो विहितः शुभः। गुह्यं पञ्चदशायाम समन्तात् पञ्च योजनम् ॥ ※ ※ ※ तत्र तिष्ठाम्यहं भद्रे उदीचीं दिशमाश्रितः। हिरण्यप्रतिमां कृत्वा जातरूपां न संशयः ॥ १५१।७-१० ). The holy spots in Lohārgala are Pañcasaraḥ, Nāradakuṇḍa, Vasiṣṭhakuṇḍa (where five streams are falling from the Himakūṭa), Saptarṣikuṇḍa (where seven streams fall from the Himavatparvata), Śarabhaṅga-kuṇḍa ( तत्रधारा पतत्येका शरभङ्गाश्रिता नदी ), Agnisaraḥkuṇḍa, Bṛhaspatikuṇḍa (where falls a stream which is *himakūṭa-samāśritā*), Vaiśvānarakuṇḍa ( धारा चैका पतत्यत्र दृश्यते हिमसङ्कुलात् ), Kārttikeyakuṇḍa (where fifteen streams fall from the Himaparvata), Umākuṇḍa, Maheśvarakuṇḍa (where three streams fall from the Himavatparvata), Brahmakuṇḍa (where four streams fall from the Himālaya), etc.

The holy spots belonging to the Kokāmukha *tīrtha* mentioned in the *Varāha Purāṇa*, Chapter 140 are the following:—1. Jalabindu. 2. Viṣṇudhārā. 3. Viṣṇupada which is *Kokāmukhāśrita*. 4. Viṣṇusaraḥ. 5. Somatīrtha—यत्र पञ्चशिलाभूमिर्विष्णुनाम्ना तथाङ्किता. 6. Tuṅgakūṭa. 7. Agnisaraḥ—पञ्चधाराः पतन्त्यत्र गिरिकुञ्जसमाश्रिताः 8. Brahmasaraḥ. 9. Dhenuvaṭa. 10. Dharmodbhava—गिरिकुञ्जात् पतत्येका धारा भूमितले शुभा. 11. Koṭivaṭa. 12. Pāpapramocana. 13. Yamavyasanaka. 14. Mātaṅga—स्रोतो वहति तत्रैवमाश्रितं कौशिकीं नदीम्. 15. Vajrabhava—स्रोतो वहति तत्रैकमाश्रितं कौशिकीं नदीम्. 16. Śakrarudra which is *Kokāśilātala-sthita*. 17. Daṃṣṭrāṅkura—यत्र कोका विनिःसृता. 18. Viṣṇutīrtha—ततः पर्वतमध्यात्तु कोकायां पतति जलम्. 19. Sarvakāmikā—अस्ति तत्र वरं स्थानं संगमं कौशि(की※) कोकयोः। सर्वकामिकेति विख्याता शिला तिष्ठति चोत्तरे ॥ 20. Matsyaśilā—अस्ति मत्स्यशिला नाम गुह्यं कोकामुखे वरम्। धाराः पतन्ति तिस्रो वै कौशिकीमाश्रिता नदीम् ॥ Besides the above particulars, we have some general observations on the Kokāmukha *tīrtha*, such as—पञ्चयोजनविस्तारं क्षेत्रं कोकामुखं मम, तस्मिन् कोकामुखे रम्ये तिष्ठामि दक्षिणामुखः, वराहरूपमादाय तिष्ठामि पुरुषाकृतिः, वामोन्नतमुखं कृत्वा वामदंष्ट्रासमुन्नतम्, etc. It is quite clear from the description of the Kokāmukha *tīrtha* in the *Varāha-Purāṇa* that two rivers named Kokā and Kauśikī as well as the confluence of them were intimately associated with the holy region.

There are several rivers of the name Kauśikī in different parts of India. But the only Kauśikī that can be associated with a *Kṣetra* of Varāha as well as with a river called Kokā is the Kauśikī, modern Kuśī, running from Nepal by the western borders of the Purnea District of Bihar. The river is known in Nepal as the Sun-Kośī (probably Svarṇa-Kauśikī) and some of its tributaries have names like the Arun-kośī, Dudh-kośī, etc. The ancient Kokāmukha *tīrtha* or Varāha-kṣetra is situated on the bank of the Sun-kośī in Nepal and in now popularly known as the Barāh-Chatra. *Chatra* is the common corrupt form derived from Sanskrit *Kṣetra*.

It is unfortunate that in most maps of Nepal no locality called Varāha-kṣetra or Barāh-chatra is indicated. Of course Dhankuta a little to the north and Bijapur to the east of the holy region are found even in ordinary maps. E. Thornton's *Gazetteer of India* (London, 1886, s.v.) spells the name wrongly as *Vardhachatra* instead of *Varahachatra* (with *d* wrongly placed for *a*) and says, "Town in Nepal State; situated on the left bank of the San-Kusi river, 124 miles east-south-east of Khatmandu. Lat. 26° 57′, long. 87°4′." The *Gupta Press Directory Pañjikā* (in Bengali) observes, "Varāhachatra.—The image of Varāhadeva, the third incarnation of Lord Viṣṇu is placed on the Dhavalāgiri near the kingdom of Bhutān forming part of the kingdom of Nepāl. A fair is held at the place every year during the fullmoon day of the month of Kārttika. From Calcutta to Jogbani (Kāṭihār-Jogbani branch, B. & A. Ry.) the distance is 331 miles (*via* Rānāghāṭ and Lālgolāghāṭ). The foot of the Dhavalāgiri peak is 20 miles from that place by a road along the Kuśī river; the temple of Varāhadeva lies 20 miles above." Although Bhotan and the celebrated Dhavalāgiri in Nepal are far away from the Varāhakṣetra or Barāhchatra, the location of the holy place indicated above is fairly correct. The Barāhchatra and the Kokā river have been placed in the same region in an old book entitled *An Account of the Kingdom of Nepaul* (being the substance of observations made during a Mission to that country in the year 1793) by Colonel Kirkpatrick, London, 1811. They are also indicated in the map inserted in the book. While describing the route from Khatmandu to Bijapur, the author says (pp. 324-25): From Ohdhang ghaut "To the conflux of the Arun and Soan-Kousi—7 (ghurries); To Ukhurria ghaut (the 2nd)—5 (ghurries); To the Thumboor, i.e. the confluence of the Tumboor and Soan-Kousi at Tambraphede—26 (ghurries); To Koka-Kola (which falls into the Soan-Kousi according to the map)—28 (ghurries); To Barah-chatra—28 (ghurries); To Chattraghaut (on the Kousi)—5 (ghurries); To Bejapour—16 (ghurries)." The distance between the localities has been indicated by time, a ghurry being equal to 22½ minutes. But the estimates are only approximate as the time required in travelling in a hilly region can hardly be uniform. The word *Kola* (probably from Sanskrit *Kulyā*) means a small stream and Kokakola means the small river called Kokā. Thus we have here not only a Varāha-kṣetra but also the junction of the rivers Kausikī (Sun-Kuśī) and the Kokā (Koka-Kola). There is therefore no doubt that the Barāhchatra in Nepal has to be identified with the Kokāmukha *tīrtha* mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purāṇas* and that the temples of the gods Kokāmukha and Śvetavarāha associated in the Dāmodarpur inscription with the *himavacchikhara* were situated at this place.

The distance of the ancient Kokāmukha *tīrtha* or Barāh-chatra in Nepal from the Dāmodarpur region in the southern part of the Dinajpur District is about 150 miles by air. Of course the inclusion of the above part of Nepal within the Koṭivarṣa *viṣaya* or the Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti* in the Gupta period may not be quite out of the question; but such a hypothesis cannot be accepted until further evidence is forthcoming.

People of North Bihar have great regard for the Varāhakṣetra even to-day. There is again no doubt that the culture of North Bengal was intimately associated with that of North Bihar before the former country was flooded by Mongolian migrations. It was therefore quite natural for inhabitants of the Dinajpur region to visit the Kokāmukha *tīrtha* even in the Gupta age. The *śreṣṭhin* Ṛbhu Pāla apparently went to the Varāhakṣetra-Kokāmukha on pilgrimage and after having returned home dedicated a large area of land in his native district in honour of two gods enshrined at the holy place. But it was not quite easy for him to send the income accruing regularly to distant Nepal. The pious Ṛbhu Pāla therefore made two temples of the same gods near the lands originally granted together with two store-houses. He appears to have installed in these temples two imitation-gods of the same names. This is why the gods in the *himavacchikhara* have been styled *ādya*, i.e., original. This is further suggested by the distinction of places indicated by the two expressions *himavacchikhare* and *iha* occurring in the second passage quoted above from Ṛbhu Pāla's record. About half a century after Ṛbhu Pāla, Amṛta Deva granted lands in favour of the temple of Śvetavarāha. This is no doubt one of the temples founded by Ṛbhu Pāla in the Dāmodarpur region and not that of the original god in the Himalayas. This is suggested by the fact that the expression *himavacchikhara* is conspicuous by its absence in the record of Amṛtadeva. Instead of any reference to the Himalayas we find here the temple located in *atr=āraṇya*, i.e. "here in this forest," which no doubt formed part of the Koṭivarṣa *viṣaya*.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

## The Vākāṭakas and the Daśārṇa Country

Mr. D. B. Diskalkar has drawn our attention to a verse contained in Lakṣmīdhara's *Kṛtyakalpataru* in a note in *IHQ.*, December, 1944, pp. 367-68. The verse refers to a pious lady named Vasundharā who was the daughter of a certain Vikrama and was an inhabitant of Daśārṇa. Mr. Diskalkar has offered in this connection several suggestions, none of which is, however, supported by any evidence or argument of any kind. He has identified Vikrama with Candragupta II Vikramāditya and Vasundharā with Prabhāvatīguptā, daughter of Candragupta II and queen of Vākāṭaka Rudrasena II. We wonder why the daughter of any person of the name of Vikrama has to be identified with the only known daughter of only one of the numerous Vikramas known to history.

Mr. Diskalkar's suggestion that the Vākāṭaka territory was known as Daśārṇa which he identifies with the Chattisgarh division of C. P. as well as his reference to "*Vijaya*-Dasanapura in the Andhra country mentioned in some inscriptions as the capital of a Vākāṭaka principality" in Jayaswal's *History of India*, p. 136 is also untenable. Here is a clear case of the *andha-paramparānyāya*, as Daśanapura, mentioned as a seat of government of the Early Pallavas (who, it should be noted, ruled *contemporaneously* with the Vākāṭakas) and identified by scholars with modern Darsi in the Nellore District, had absolutely nothing to do with the Vākāṭakas. As a matter of fact, there is not the slightest evidence of Vākāṭaka rule in the Chattisgarh region of C. P., the ancient name of which was, moreover, Kosala (=South Kosala), and never Daśārṇa. From numerous references to Daśārṇa in Indian literature (cf., *e.g.*, *Meghadūta*, 24, 25), it is clear that it was one of the old names of East Malwa and the adjoining region with its capital at Vidiśā (modern Besnagar in the Gwalior State) and with the rivers Daśārṇā (modern Dhasan) and Vetravatī (modern Betwa) running through it.

In this connection I would like to draw the attention of scholars to what I wrote some time ago in criticism of another unjustifiable theory that the Vākāṭaka territory was known as Kuntala (cf. *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, 1939, pp. 253-54n). I have tried to show that the heart of the Vākāṭaka kingdom corresponded to the ancient *janapada* of Vidarbha (modern Berar and the adjoining region) where most of the records of the family have been discovered. The founder of the Vākāṭaka family seems to have had something to do with East Malwa and the Vindhyan region and a few other early members of the main branch of the family probably held sway over parts of Central India (especially Bundelkhand) before the extension of Gupta power in that area. But the capital of a branch of the

Vākāṭaka line was at the city of Vatsagulma, modern Basim in the Akola District, while the main branch of the family ruled from a place not very far away from modern Nagpur. The Vākāṭaka kings reigned in Vidarbha from the second-half of the third century to the first-half of the sixth. They were not only responsible for some of the magnificent caves at Ajaṇṭā, but it was apparently at their court that the celebrated Vaidarbhī *rīti* or the Berar style of Sanskrit composition originated and flourished and was recognised by the author of the *Kāvyādarśa* as the best style as early as the seventh century A.D. I have elsewhere suggested that the other important style known as the *Gauḍī rīti* has to be associated with the court of the dynasty of Gauḍa kings represented by Gopacandra and Śaśāṅka.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

## Nārāyaṇadīkṣita's Commentary on the Prākṛtapiṅgalasūtra

The Anup Sanskrit Library possesses two MSS of a commentary on the *Prākṛtapiṅgalasūtra* by Nārāyaṇadīkṣita, son of Govardhanadīkṣita. Aufrecht does not record any MS of this in his *Catalogus Catalogorum*. It is later than the sixteenth century, containing as it does references to Lakṣmīnāthabhaṭṭa who, according to Aufrecht (*C.C.*, I, 538), composed his *Piṅgalārthapradīpa* in A.D. 1600.

Of the two MSS one contains the section relating to the Mātrā-vṛttas and the other the section relating to the Varṇa-vṛttas. Both the MSS belonged to Govardhanadīkṣita (father of the author?). Both end with a colophon referring to a king named Śatruśalyadeva, patron of the author's father. Nothing more is known about this patron.

### I. No. 5642

Begins:—

पिङ्गलटीकापुस्तकं गोवर्धनदीक्षितानाम् ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः । श्रीदुर्गादेव्यै नमः ।
प्रणम्य शिरसा तातं श्रीगोवर्धनदीक्षितम् । नारायणेन विदुषा पिङ्गलार्थः प्रकाश्यते ।
विघ्नविघाताय मङ्गलमाचरति तो इति । यत्त्वभिमतसिद्धय इति वदन्ति तन्न ।
विघ्नध्वंसकामायतिरिक्तसिद्धेर्ग्रन्थादिक्रियमाणत्वादिमङ्गलफलत्वाभावात् । तन्मात्रार्थकशिष्टानुष्ठानेन तथैव श्रुतेः स्मृतेर्वोन्नयनात् ।

Ends:—उक्तानि छन्दांसि स्मारयति । तमिति । तं तानि छन्दांसीत्यर्थः । कुलपा आ पादाकुलकं । यउमा पद्मावती वा आली सव्वरा द्विचत्वारिंशद्भेदानीत्यर्थः ।

इति अरिराजतारामृगाङ्केत्यादिविविधविरुदावलीविराजमानमहाराजाधिराजश्रीशत्रुशल्यदेवाश्रितपदवाक्यप्रमाण-ज्ञालंकारिकशिरोमणीमहामहोपाध्यायश्रीगोवर्धनदीक्षितसुतनारायणदीक्षितविरचितायां भाषापङ्गलसूत्रवृत्तौ मात्रावृत्तपरिच्छेदः ॥ शुभमस्तु ॥ इदं पुस्तकं गोवर्धनदीक्षितानाम् ॥

### II. No. 5643

Begins:—पिङ्गलटीका गोवर्धनदीक्षितानाम् ।
श्रीगणेशाय नमः ।
उक्तात्युक्ता तथा मध्या प्रतिष्ठान्या सुपूर्विका । गायत्र्युष्णिगनुष्टुप् च बृहती पङ्क्तिरेव च ॥
त्रिष्टुप् च जगती चैव तथातिजगती मता । शक्वरी चातिपूर्वा स्यादष्ट्यत्यष्टी तथा स्मृते ॥

Ends:—

भवत्युत्पलिकाप्रायं सभासस्पन्दमक्षरम् । वृत्तैकदेशसंबद्धं वृत्तगन्धि पुनः स्मृतम् ॥
इति अरिराजतारामृगाङ्कभाषापिङ्गलसूत्रवृत्तौ वर्णवृत्तपरिच्छेदः ॥ समाप्तोऽयं ग्रन्थः ॥ इदं गोवर्धनदीक्षितानाम् ॥

K. MADHAVA KRISHNA SARMA

## Dīkṣita Maṇirāma

A large number of MSS in the Anup Sanskrit Library bear the signature of Dīkṣita Maṇirāma, sometimes together with that of

Śivānanda, not Śivānanda-gosvāmin, but Śivānandamiśra. Maṇirāma was a great scholar in the court of Mahārāja Anupsinghji. He was the son of Gaṅgārāmamiśra, son of Śivadatta of Gauḍavaṁśa and belonged to Dhūrjaṭipura. In his *Anūpavyavahārasāgara* there is the following statement:

अयनांशानयनं त्वस्मद्गुरुचरणहरिनारायणमिश्रकृतपद्येन ज्ञेयम्...॥ (Anup Sanskrit Library MS. fol. 39a).

From this we know that he was the pupil of one Harinārāyaṇamiśra. We have no further information at present about this Harinārāyaṇamiśra. This, however, may be noted: One Harinārāyaṇa miśra has written two works, one denouncing spirituous liquor, named *Madhuvidhvaṃsabhāskara*, and another denouncing non-vegetarian food, named *Māṁsatimiravidhvaṁsa-bhāskara*. There is a MS. of the former in the Anup Sanskrit Library. It is a work of great interest. The latter is referred to in the former. The former refers to Śaṁkarabhaṭṭa, Nīlakaṇṭha and the *Nirṇayasindhu*. The MS. is dated Saṃvat 1733 i.e. A.D. 1676. This Harinārāyaṇa has therefore to be assigned to the middle of the 17th century. If he is the Guru of Maṇirāma, the date fits in very well; but this agreement of date alone cannot be the evidence of identity.

His works in the Anup Sanskrit Library:

*Kātyāyanaśrautasūtrabhāṣya*—No. 706. At the beginning the author says that he writes this for the benefit of his son. At the end the MS. is signed: **दी. मणिराम.**

*Mahābhāratasāra*—Nos. 984-88. No. 986 is signed by the author together with Śivānanda.

*Mahābhāratabhāvadīpasāroddhāra*—No. 989 (Virāṭaparvan) and No. 990 (Udyogaparvan). This is a gloss on Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary and explains some difficult passages here and there. This is styled *Pariṣkāra* also.

*Aṣṭādaśadivasayuddhāni*—No. 991. There is no mention of the author here; but in all probability this is a part of Maṇirāma's *Mahābhāratasāra*.

There are two other works in the Library in the same hand as the above; but as there is no mention of the author here, these cannot be definitely assigned to Maṇirāma now.

Under the patronage of Mahārāja Anupsinghji he wrote two important works, viz., the *Anūpavilāsá* and the *Anūpavyavahārasāgara*. The former of these in seven parts, called Ratnas, deals with Dharmaśāstra. MSS. of this are numbered 2348-2359 in the Library. The other work deals with Muhūrtaśāstra in ten sections named Laharis. The MS. of this in the Library is numbered 4305.

K. MADHAVA KRISHNA SARMA

# REVIEWS

IMPORTANT INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE BARODA STATE, vol. II, Muslim Inscriptions (Śrī Pratāpasiṃha Mahārāja Rājyābhiṣeka Granthamālā, Memoir No. III), edited by G. Yazdani, M.A., O.B.E. and R. G. Gyani, M.A.; Baroda State Press, 1944; pages 18 with 6 plates.

The Baroda State Press should be congratulated for the publication of the volume under review which contains twelve Muslim epigraphs discovered in the State. With one exception, the inscriptions are written in the Persian or Arabic language. They have been edited by two scholars of repute, Messrs. Yazdani and Gyani each having taken for himself a number of separate records. Two inscriptions have their Devanāgarī counterparts which have been deciphered by Mr. A. S. Gadre.

The most interesting record is the Karakhaḍī stone inscription of Sultān Muhammad bin Tughlaq Shāh, dated the 25th day of the month of Dhūlqa'dah of A. H. 740 corresponding to Tuesday the 23rd of May, A.D. 1340. The Sanskrit part of the record however gives the dates as Monday, the 13th of the dark half of Vaiśākha, V.S. 1396 (expired) corresponding to 24th April, 1340. This section which is more complete than its Persian counterpart records the construction of what is called *masita-kūpa-devāyatana* ( مسجد و چاه, mosque and well in the Persian part) at Karakhaḍī grāma in Vaṭapadraka (Baroda) in the Lāṭadeśa belonging to the Gurjara country which was being governed by Malik Madāphara (Muzaffar) when the *vṛddh-āmātya* Khoje Jihāṃ (Khwajah Jahān Malik Ayaz sent in 1338 A.D. to subdue the Sultān's nephew Karsharp and the latter's friend the Raja of Kampila) was in charge of the Records Department under the Pātasāhi Suratrāṇa Mahamūda of Yoginīpura (Sultān Muhammad bin Tughlaq Shāh of Delhi). Mr. Gyani's remark that Madāphara is called a Laghurāja in the Sanskrit part of the record is however borne out neither by the facsimile nor by Mr. Gadre's transcript. It seems to us that there is hardly any question of Zafar Khān who assumed the title of Muzaffar Shāh not much earlier than A. H. 810=A.D. 1407 (cf. p. 1n, p. 5n).

Another interesting record is that belonging to the shrine of Hājī Pīr Kirmānī in the small island of Beṭ (Dwarka). It records the construction of a mosque in A. H. 777=A.D. 1376 at the instance of Shamsuddīn Dāmaghānī who was the governor of Gujarat under Sultān Fīrūz Shāh. The epigraph shows that Dāmaghānī's appointment ascribed by Firishta to A.H. 778=A.D. 1377 is probably wrong. The date "770 H." in regard to this record (p. 2) is doubtless a misprint for "777 H." The Navlākhi Vāv stone inscription (p. 5) dated the 1st of Rajab, A.H. 807 corresponding to the 3rd January, A.D. 1405 mentions the celebrated Zafar Khān, son of Wajihul Mulk, as the fief-holder ( مقطع ) of Gujrat and "the Malik of Maliks of the East" Malik Ādam, son of Sulaimān, as that of Barodra (Baroda). The Pāṭan Gumḍā Masjid inscription of A.H. 948=A.D. 1542 refers to Nāsiruddīn Muhammad Shāh III, king of Gujarat and son of Bahādūr Shāh's brother Latif Shāh bin Muzaffar Shāh II bin Mahmūd Shāh bin Muhammad Shāh II bin Ahmad Shāh bin Muhammad Shāh I bin Muzaffar Shāh I. The Kaḍī Fort wall inscription (p. 9) of A.H. 1018=A.D. 1609 mentions Murtaza Khān Bhukhārī, the Mughal viceroy of Gujarat.

A very interesting record, partially damaged, is the Vaḍnagar Arjun Bari gate inscription of A.D. 1633. It consists of four stanzas in Western Hindī written separately both in the Persian and Devanāgarī scripts. Parts of the Persian section have been read by Mr. Yazdani and the Devanāgarī section has been partially deciphered by Mr. Gadre. Both scholars however have failed to notice that the same words of the verses have been written in Persian and Devanāgarī letters and that the damaged parts of one section can be restored with the help of the more fairly preserved parts of the other. Cf. the first and last stanzas which we quote below:

| | |
|---|---|
| 1. چيت ماس تتـه پر نماشی | 1. चैतमास तिथि पूरणमासी |
| سواه سي پر اديک نواسي | सोल सत परिअधिक नव्यासी |
| 2. سري سدهناته درشن پاس | 2. सीरी सिधनाथ दरसन पास |
| کبت کوي جگجيونداس | कवित कीया यगजीवन दास |

A defect of the volume under review is that it does not follow a uniform system of transliteration; cf. the name of the same month sometimes written Zilqadāh (p. 2) and Dhūlqa'da (p. 8). The Amreli inscription (p. 11) of A.D. 1687 is written in three lines; but the third line which reads "سنة ١٠٩٩" has been left out in Yazdani's transcript (cf. Plate IV, b) apparently owing to inadvertance. These however do not detract from the value of the work. We recommend the book to all students of Muslim epigraphy.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

PARAMASAṂHITĀ [of the Pāñcarātra]. Edited and translated into English with an introduction by Rājasevāsakta Dewan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. LXXXVI. Royal 8 vo, 48 + 108 + 230 + 2. Baroda Oriental Institute, 1940.

SAMŪRTĀRCHANĀDHIKARAṆA (Atri-Saṁhitā). By Maharshi Atri. Edited by P. Raghunatha Chakravarti Vaikhānasa Āgama and Sāhitya Paṇḍit, S.V. Sanskrit College, Tirupati, and M. Ramkrishna Kavi M.A., Reader in Telugu, S.V. Oriental Institute, Tirupati Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Series No. 6. Demy 8vo., XXVIII + 560 + 12.

Here we have editions of two well-known but hitherto unpublished Vaiṣṇava ritualistic texts—one of the Pāñcarātra school and the other of the Vaikhānasa school. The first work is an edition accompanied by English Translation of an important text of the Pāñcarātra school of the Vaiṣṇavas. It is based on two not very satisfactory manuscripts, as no other manuscript was reported to be known. The Adyar Library manuscript seems to be the better of the two and the Madras Oriental Library manuscript is stated to be 'more or less imperfect' though in what respects it is not indicated. But none of the manuscripts appears to be complete—there are bigger and smaller lacunae here and there. There are also numerous corruptions and obscurities, for which emendations have generally been suggested within square brackets by the side of the original text. In some of the concluding chapters a number of words, not all corrupt (31. 34, 69), are marked with dots, flowing or plain underlines, but the significance of these distinctive marks, if any, is nowhere pointed out. A few variants are noted with abbreviations क and ख against them which presumably refer to the two manuscripts consulted, though the abbreviations are nowhere explained. In some cases better readings, noted as variants and not incorporated in the text, have been followed in the translation (7.11). The introduction speaks of the antiquity and the extent of the influence of the Pāñcarātra school and does not deal with the contents of the work. It has been stated in the preface that 'among the Pāncarātra works, this one occupies a high place and has been quoted as such by eminent Ācāryas.' An elaboration of the statement together with illustrations would have been highly welcome to scholars.

The edition of the second work is based on seven manuscripts, variants from which are noted in the form of an appendix. Several chapters found only in one of the manuscripts are also quoted *in extenso* in one of the appendices. It is noticed that in the appendix recording variant readings, readings adopted in the text are also included, but there is no indication of the sources of the latter. In chapter

63 a number of variants are noted with the abbreviation पा; the abbreviation is not found to have been explained.

The introduction describes the critical apparatus, refers to the antiquity of the Vaikhānasa cult and to the extent of its literature and gives a brief account of the contents of the work. In this conection, it must be mentioned that the chief interest of the work lies in its sections on temples and images which are specially important from the standpoint of architectural and sculptural history of India. Besides there are interesting accounts of various festivities in connection with the consecration and ceremonial worship of deities. The list of technical and rather peculiar words given at the end is very useful.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

OFF THE MAIN TRACK by Dr. Surendra Nath Sen, M.A., Ph.D., B. Litt., pp. 116. Calcutta, 1944.

In this book we have eleven papers, nine of which deal with records. Three of these papers—*Some Police problems of Old Calcutta, Confessions of a Dacoit, Lord Cornwallis and Slave Trade in Bengal*—give us glimpses of social and economic life of Bengal, urban and rural, in the eighties and nineties of the 18th century. The troubles of the Commissioners of Police at Calcutta, the inventories of the spoils of the dacoit, the position of the *ajir* or bandsman as described in the proclamations of Cornwallis being before us a society from which we have moved far away. Two papers—*The Cannanore Incident, Velu Tampi's Rebellion,*—draw our attention to Malabar and the West Coast. The *Cannanore Incident* (1783-84) gives us an authentic account of a little known episode in the second Mysore War. The other paper gives us the narrative of Colonel Daly which was written for the information of the Resident. As we read it the figure of Velu Tampi, the strong man, making his exist creates a great impression on our mind. The paper *St. John in India* contains an epistle of that trained English lawyer who was for some time a judge in Bombay. This paper describes current Indian events. It is relevant to note that he lived in India during the period 1684-87. The MS. found its way to the Bodleian Library and it has been reproduced here with permission. *The Story of a Trading Boat* 1793 gives us some letters of the Captain of a small *ghurab* in the service of the King of Cochin, He took rice from Calcutta with a view to sell it in Ceylon which even in those days depended on outside supply. *A note on Major Polier's Resignation* gives us the Major's version of the affair and incidentally supplies useful details to the historian of India in the 18th century. *General Ventura's Jahgir* is a paper that throws some new light on the career of this remarkable adventurer after his retirement from Sikh service. There are two papers in this collection that are not based on records—*Survivals of some Aśokan forms in seventeenth Century Bengali*, and *Some sculptural devices in the architecture of the Purana Qila*. The former deals with the survival of some Prākrit words in the Bengali prose work of Don Antonio do Rozario, a Christian missionary, with a very romantic career. A Bengali enslaved by Mugh pirates, he was released by a Portuguese priest and converted into Christianity. A MS. copy of the dialogue in Bengali compiled by him was found by Dr. Sen at Evora in Portugal. In the other paper the author gives us some very significant surmises about sculptural decorations on the gateways of Purana Qila.

In his preface Dr. Sen offers his excuse "for straying out of the main track of general history and loitering in the bye-lanes and blind alleys." But the advanced students of modern Indian history should be thankful to the publishers for collecting all these valuable papers from different journals and making them available in a handy volume.

N. K. SINHA

A HISTORY OF HINDU PUBLIC LIFE, Part I (Period of the Vedic Saṃhitās, the Brāhmaṇas and the Older Upaniṣads) by Dr. U. N. Ghoshal, M.A., Ph.D. published by Ramesh Ghoshal, 35, Badurbagan Row, Calcutta, pages 176.

This is another book from the learned pen of Dr. Ghoshal in course of less than six months. But that does not mean that it is a hastily written pamphlet. A perusal of the book clearly shows that it is the result of a long and a painstaking study. In fact nobody else was better prepared for the task. His preparation was as thorough and complete as possible with his earlier books, *A History of Hindu Political Theories* (1927), *Contributions to the History of Hindu Revenue System* (1929), *The Agrarian System in Ancient India* (1930) and some essays in his last book, *The Beginnings of Indian Historiography and other essays* (1944). In fact good many topics treated in the present book had been discussed threadbare in the earlier works. These earlier discussions and a wide acquaintance with the relevant literature have made it possible for him to present the materials as clearly as possible in a new historical setting. The titles of the first three chapters which constitute the principal part of the book will bear out the contention: Chapter I. *The Ṛg-vedic State*, Chapter II. *The State in the Atharvaveda*, III. *The State in the Yajus Saṁhitās, the Brāhmaṇas and the Older Upaniṣads*. In a last chapter will be found a summary and the conclusions. His discussions of such knotty problems as "the origin of the Vedic kingship," "the Vedic constitution," "the position of the castes" etc are exhaustive and clear. He is not anxious to propound novel theories. He states opinions of the earlier authorities on a particular topic, offers his own criticisms and suggests the most reasonable interpretation. As such his book is a most useful handbook for the students of Ancient Indian History and Culture. There may be some objection about his persistent use of the word "Hindu" instead of "Ancient" or "Ancient Indian" but that does not detract the value of his contribution. We have therefore every reason to congratulate him on its publication.

P. C. BAGCHI

# Select Contents of Oriental Journals

### **Bhāratīya Vidyā**, vol. VI, no. 2 (February, 1945).

M. R. Majmudar.—*Abhimanyu Upākhyāna and the unknown Episode Re: Abhimanyu's previous Life.* There is in the collection of the Baroda Oriental Institute a Sanskrit manuscript of about 1100 ślokas in 20 chapters, containing an episode about Abhimanyu's previous birth as a demon not traceable to the *Mahābhārata*.

A. H. Nizami.—*Note on Maihar* —The Note deals briefly with the history and genealogy of the Baghilas of Maihar.

P. K. Gode.—*Some Provincial Social Customs and Manners mentioned as Durācāras by Varadarāja (a pupil of Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita) —(c. A. D. 1600—1660).*

K. G. Sankar.—*The Mystery of Vikramāditya.* Arguments are put forward to show that the founder of the Vikrama era was the historical king named Vikramāditya ruling over Ujjayinī in 57 B.C. He was the son of Gardabhila of the Jain legend. A later Vikrama became Śakāri by destroying many Mlecchas in the third century of the Christian era. This second Vikrama with the personal name Harṣa was the son of Mahendrāditya, and father of Śilāditya. He also was a king of Ujjayinī and was associated with the poet Kālidāsa. There was perhaps a third Vikrama, who was the patron of the famous nine gems including a later Kālidāsa.

G. N. Saletore.—*Gurunṛpāla. —a Patron of Vādi Vidyānanda.* A Sāḷuva chief named Gururāya Oḍeya ruling over a maritime principality with Saṅgītapura as his capital has been identified here with Gurunṛpāla mentioned in Humcha inscription as a patron of Vādi Vidyānanda, a pre-eminent Jain scholar of the 16th century.

### **Brahmavidyā (Adyar Library Bulletin)**, vol. IX, pt. 1.

C. Kunhan Raja.—*Sumanoramaṇī.* The *Sumanoramanī*, still in manuscript, is a commentary on the *Meghadūta*. The commentator Parameśvara flourishing in the 14th century criticises the *Vidyullatā* of Pūrṇasarasvatī.

K. Madhava Krishna Sarma.—*Vīrasiṃha Gaṇaka.* The Anup Sanskrit Library possesses mss. of five works of Vīrasiṃha, a great astronomer of the 17th century.

A. N. Krishna Aiyangar.—*Inscriptions of Uttaramerūr.* This is the sixth inscription of Rājarāja that this continued article deals with.

### **Bulletin of the Baroda State Museum and Picture Gallery,** vol. I, pt. 1 (August 1943—January 1944)

[The bulletin of the 'Baroda State Museum and Picture Gallery, which has grown up during the last fifty years into an excellent storehouse of finds and art treasures of historical and ethnological value, is a periodical issued under the editorship Dr. Hermann Goetz.]

A. S. GADRE.—*Nālanda Seals in the Baroda State Museum.* Eleven clay seals obtained from Bihar and deposited in the Museum have been described here with Plates as Nālandā seals. They are assigned to about the 8th century A.C. on palæographical reasons. The legends on them show that they are all important official seals.

B. BHATTACHARYA.—*Twenty-two Buddhist Miniatures from Bengal.* Twenty-two sheets of a palm-leaf ms. of the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* have been described and their artistic and iconographic peculiarities discussed. An account of the Prajñāpāramitā literature has also been given in the paper. The manuscript containing the miniatures is assigned to the 11th century of the Christian era on palæographical reasons. It was completed, according to the post-colophon statement, in the eighth year of the reign of Mahārājādhirāja Harivarma Deva. The pictures, representing Buddhist deities and other objects of worship, have been painted on leaves of the ms. presumably with a view to adding to the sanctity of the sacred work. Seven illustrations belong to Lokeśvara, four to Tārā, two to Mañjuśrī, one to Jambhala, four to the Dhyānī Buddhas Vairocana, Akṣobhya and Amitābha, three to *Caityas* and one to the holy lamp.

H. GOETZ.—*A Unique Early Deccani Miniature.* A miniature painting of the Mālavī Rāgiṇī represents "the transitional stage between the purely Persian art flourishing in the Deccan under the Bahmanis and their successors......, and the national Indian art there springing up towards the end of the 16th century." The discussion points to the Indianisation of the Persian style by an absorption and assimilation of the Hindu art of Vijayanagara.

### Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, vol. XI, pt. 2

ALFRED MASTER.—*Indo-Aryan and Dravidian.* The author of the article traces the meanings of the two words—the Ṛgvedic *phaligam* and the Pāli *veḷuriya* "beryl." The philological development of the words is shown by referring to their various uses in languages both Dravidian and Indo-Aryan.

H. N. RANDLE.—*An Indo-Aryan Language of South India: Saurāṣṭrabhāṣā.* This is an analysis of Saurāṣṭrī or Paṭṇūlī spoken by the Saurāṣṭran community of the Tamil country.

T. BURROW.—*Dravidian Studies IV.* A list of words denoting the body and its parts is given to show a relationship between Dravidian and Uralian.

E. H. JOHNSTON.—*Some Sanskrit Inscriptions of Arakan.* The inscriptions published and coins described will be helpful for the study of ancient Arakan. The inscriptions mention a dynasty whose personal names ended in Śūracandra

**Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society**, vol. 20, 1944.

H. D. VELANKAR.—*Chandonuśāsana of Hemacandra.* The 6th and 7th chapters of the metrical treatise by the famous Jain author Hemacandra have been edited in this instalment.

B. C. LAW.—*Aṅgas in Ancient India.* The paper gathers from references in literature all information regarding the people of the country of ancient Aṅga.

V. A. GADGIL.—*Yama and Yamī.* The writer discusses the character and functions of the Vedic Yama and comes to the conclusion that the Ṛgvedic dialogue between Yama and Yamī is purely allegorical, the pair corresponding to *Karman* and *Śarīra* respectively. The episode shows only a natural attraction of a person of one sex for a person of opposite sex, but does in no way prove the existence of incest among the Vedic Aryans.

B. G. GOKHALE.—*Devadatta and his Life.* Devadatta, the Buddha's cousin and rival has been depicted in the Buddhist accounts in the blackest possible colour. An attempt has been made in the paper 'to present a balanced portrait' of this historical figure who was 'apparently serious in his controversies' with the Buddha.

K. MUKUNDA MARAR and C. T. RAJAGOPAL.—*On the Hindu Quadrature of the Circle.*

S. N. CHAKRAVARTI.—*A new find of Silver Punch-marked Coins from the Bombay Presidency.*

**Journal of the Ganganatha Jha Research Institute,**
vol. II, pt. 1 (November 1944).

GOPINATH KAVIRAJ.—*The Mystic Significance of 'Evaṃ.'* The symbolised form of the vowel e is held sacred by both the Buddhist and the Hindu Tantras. The mystic character of the symbol as recognised in literature has been discussed here.

TARA CHAND.—*Rāfi'-ul-Khilāf of Sita Ram Saksena of Lucknow.* The *Rāfi'-ul-Khilāf* meaning 'remover of difference' is a Persian commentary by one Sita Ram on the *Jñānasāra* of Kavindrācārya Sarasvatī, a well known Benares scholar of the 17th century. The *Jñānasāra* is a Hindī version of the Sanskrit *Yogavāsiṣṭha.* Sita Ram has added a running translation and a commentary in Persian quoting whenever necessary, 'Persian and Arabic texts to show that the teachings of the *Yogavāsiṣṭha* accord with those of Muslim mystics'

K. G. PANDEY.—*Aesthetic Experience in the Light of Ābhāsavāda.* To be continued.

SUBHADRA JHA.—*An Analysis of Verbal Forms of Maithilī.*

P. K. GODE.—*The Antiquity of the Caste-names: Sālī and Padmasālī.*

K. MADHAVA KRISHNA SARMA.—*Sārasvatādvaitasudhā.* This is a description of a rare work of Lakṣmaṇa Paṇḍita, an author of the 17th century. The treatise is a philosophical and grammatical dissertation on Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṃśa.* The author was an adherent of the Advaita doctrine.

### **Journal of Indian History,** vol. XXIII, pt. 3 (December, 1944).

KISHORI SARAN LAL.—*Sultan Nasiruddin Khusrau Shah.* This is an account of the eventful career of an obscure Parvāri from Gujarat. Converted to Muhammadanism in childhood, this man Nasiruddin Khusrau Shah began his life as a slave, and rose from post to post, wresting ultimately the throne of Delhi in the year 1320 from his employer Qutbuddin Mubarak Shah by murdering him in his palace. After a restless reign of a little more than four months, he was overthrown and killed by Ghazi Tughlaq.

ANIL CHANDRA BANERJEE.—*A Chapter in the History of Sikh Militarism.* The paper deals with the Sikh pontificate in its relation to the throne of Delhi during the period between 1645 and 1664. For showing open sympathy for Dara Shukoh, Guru Har Rai incurred the displeasure of Aurangzeb. But his was a comparatively peaceful pontificate without any particularly stormy incidents contributing to the strength of Sikh Militarism.

### **Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland,** 1944, Parts 3 & 4.

DORA GORDINE.—*Masterpieces of Oriental Art.* Two representative pieces of arts and crafts have been described in this instalment of the contribution. The first is a huge elephant with Prince Muhammad Murad on its back and two little elephants at a distance delineated most artistically by Ghulam in 1621 A. C. The second piece is a Persian camel, a typical example of Persian craftsmanship of the 16th century.

H. N. RANDLE.—*The Saurāṣṭrans of South India.* The Saurāṣṭrans are a community of more than a hundred thousand persons speaking Saurāṣṭrī, also called Paṭṇūlī or Khatrī. They reside in the Tamil country mainly around the localities like Madura, Tanjore and Dindigul. Their early home had been Surāṣṭra (Kathiawar), whence they migrated first to Devagiri, then to Vijayanagara, and finally to the Tamil land. The paper furnishes an account of the Saurāṣṭran literature.

RICHARD WINSTEDT.—*Indian Influence in Malay World.* The purpose of the article is to show how early the Indians had begun to visit the Malayan countries and how considerably they influenced its people in religion, political system, medicine, literature, arts and crafts.

**Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society**, vol. XVI, part II.

V. S. AGRAWALA.—*India Represented on a Silver Dish from Lampsacos.* A beautifully carved silver dish bearing a representation of "India as a woman seated on a chair supported on elephant tusks" was discovered at Lampsacos, a Greek colony in Asia Minor. The dish, now preserved in the Istanbul Museum of Antiquities, is assigned to the early centuries of the Christian era.

MOTI CHANDRA.—*Geographical and Economic Studies in the Mahābhārata Upāyana Parva.* The Upāyana Parva is a sub-section of the Sabhā Parva where we find names of tribal republics and monarchies whose representatives came to pay their tributes to the Pāṇḍavas on the occasion of the Rājasūya sacrifice. The products of the individual countries are also mentioned in the Parva. These countries and their products form the subject-matter of the paper.

S. N. CHAKRAVARTI.—*The Origin of the Buddha Image.* The writer suggests that the idea of representing the Buddha in human form originated with an Indian artist of Mathurā

P. K. GODE.—*The Personal History of Raghunātha Mahādeva Ghāṭe (A.D. 1650-1730) togther with an Analysis of his Nirṇayaratnāvalī.*

**Poona Orientalist**, vol. IX, nos. 3 & 4 (July—October, 1944).

P. S. SHASTRI.—*Ṛgvedic Theory and Treatment of Rasas and Dhvani.* This is an attempt to show that concepts corresponding to the theories of Rasa and Dhvani of the later rhetoricians are found in the *Ṛgveda* itself. Various hymns and dialogues of the *Ṛgveda* have been analysed and their sentiments discussed in support.

KRISHNA MOORTY.—*Observations of Sanskrit Literary Critics on Poetic Imagination.* Many well-known writers on Sanskrit Poetics agree that *Pratibhā* or inborn poetic imagination is an indispensable element in the creation of good poetry. Statements in this regard made in the later works of Sanskrit Poetics have been discussed in the paper, and strikingly similar ideas found in the works of English literary criticism have been pointed out.

N. A. GORE—*The Citations in the Vidyullatā.* Pūrṇasarasvatī, the writer of the *Vidyullatā* on Kālidāsa's *Meghadūta* has in his commentary quoted profusely from various authors. The citations have been collected and in many cases traced to their sources.

C. KUNHAN RAJA.—*Pūrṇa Sarasvatī.* Pūrṇa Sarasvatī, the celebrated commentator of the *Meghadūta*, and author of the *Haṃsadūta*, *Ṛjulaghvī* and *Kamalinīrājahaṃsa* may be assigned to the early part of the 14th century.

GANGANATHA JHA.—*Nyāyasūtras of Gautama with Bhāṣya.* The English translation of the work continues, this instalment covering 5, 1, 10—5, 2, 6.

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# The Age of the Bagh Caves

The rock-cut caves at Bāgh are well-known for their sculptures and paintings though many of them have now been irreparably damaged. The age of these caves has been variously estimated. Fergusson and Burgess say in one place[1] that the caves were excavated about A.D. 350 to 450, and in another,[2] about A.D. 450 to 500. Vincent Smith thought that they belonged to the later Gupta rather than to the mediæval period and that they were not earlier than the late works at Ajaṇṭā. He referred them to the period from the middle of the sixth to that of the seventh century A.D.[3] This was also the opinion of Mr. M. B. Garde, Superintendent, Archæological Department, Gwalior State. Discussing the age of the painted inscription at Bāgh, of which a solitary *ka* painted in Indian red now survives, Mr. Garde says, 'On palaeographic ground this *ka* is referrable to the 6th or 7th century A.D., and that this is roughly the age of the caves is confirmed by their architecture, sculpture and, above all, paintings.'[4]

All these dates were more or less conjectural and were based on considerations of style, architecture and painting. They were bound to be indefinite in the absence of local inscriptions such as those found in the caves at Ajaṇṭā. Fortunately, a copper-plate, discovered recently in the debris of Cave II at Bāgh affords a definite clue to the age of the caves. This plate has not yet been published, but from a short account of it given in the *Annual Report of the Gwalior Archæological Department* for 1928-29[5] we learn that the plate records the grant of the village Dasithakapalli which the king Subandhu of Māhiṣmatī made to Buddhist monks for their maintenance, upkeep of the monastery and worship of the Lord Buddha. The letters recording the date have been obliterated, only the name of the month Śrāvaṇa being legible. This plate does not therefore afford any help in fixing the age of the caves. But the *Mahārāja* Subandhu who issued it is also known from another inscription found in the State of Barwāni. The exact findspot of this latter inscription is not known. It was first briefly noticed in the *Annual Report* of the Rajputana Museum for 1924-25, p. 2, and has since been published by Mr. R. R. Haldar, in the *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XIX, pp. 261ff., but without any facsimile. This inscription too is on a single plate. It records the grant of a piece of land at the village of Ṣoḥajanā in the Udumbaragartā district (*pathaka*) to a Brāhmaṇa named Ṣaṣṭhasvāmin. The grant is dated in the year 167, on the seventh *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Bhādrapada. No era has been specified in it, but the editor thinks that the date should be referred to the Gupta reckoning. It does not, however, admit of verification as no week-day or *nakṣatra* has been mentioned.

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[1] *The Cave Temples of India*, p. 186.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 366.

[3] *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 295.

[4] *The Bagh Caves*, p. 22.

[5] *Annual Report* of the Arch. Dept. of the Gwalior State for 1928-29, p. 28.

Mr. Halder, who referred the date to the Gupta era, took it as equivalent to A.D. 486. He thought the Mahārāja Subandhu of Māhiṣmati was a subordinate of the Gupta emperor Budhagupta whose Eraṇ stone inscription[6] is dated in the Gupta year 165 (A.D. 484-85), *i.e.*, just about two years before the date of the Barwāṇi grant.

There are certain indications, however, which make me doubt the correctness of this view. If *Mahārāja* Subandhu was a feudatory of Budhagupta, it looks strange that he does not name his liege-lord or even generally refer to the suzerainty of the Guptas as in the grants of the so-called Parivrājaka Mahārājas.[7] As a matter of fact, Gupta suzerainty seem to have received a set-back in Central India in the second half of the 5th century A.D. The Mandasore inscription of V. 529 shows that several kings ruled at Daśapura during the brief period of 36 years (A.D. 437-473).[8] Vatsabhaṭṭi who drafted that inscription is careful to mention the name of the Gupta emperor Kumāragupta who was reigning in A.D. 437 when the temple of the sun was first erected by the guild of silk-weavers at Daśapura, but he is silent about the Gupta sovereign reigning in A.D. 473, if his suzerainty was acknowledged there at the time. It is again noteworthy that Gupta era ceased to be used there at the latter date, for the inscription is dated according to the custom of the Mālava-gaṇa, *i.e.*, in the so-called Vikrama era. This is not a solitary instance of the use of the era in that territory. In the Mandasore inscription[9] (year 461) and Bihar Kotra inscription[10] (year 474) of Naravarman and the Gaṅgdhār inscription[11] of Viśvavarman (year 480), the same era is found used. We know how particular the Guptas were about enforcing the use of their era in the countries which acknowledged their supremacy. It would not therefore be wrong to infer from the use of the Mālava Saṁvat in Daśārṇa in the second half of the 5th century A.D. that the country had slipped out of the hands of the Guptas in the period of disorder which followed the Hūṇa invasions. In fact there is no clear evidence of Gupta supremacy even in Western Malwa in the second half of the 5th century A.D. On the other hand, we learn from the Bālāghāṭ plates that the king of Mālava was a vassal of the Vākāṭaka king Pṛthivīṣeṇa II (*circa* A.D. 470-490).[12] If Daśārṇa and Mālava had broken away from the Gupta empire it is not likely that Anūpa which lies further to the south continued to acknowledge Gupta supremacy. The year 167 is therefore not likely to be of the Gupta era.

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[6] *CII.*, vol. III, p. 89.

[7] These grants have the expression *Gupta-nṛpa-rājya-bhuktau* signifying the sovereignty of Gupta kings. *Ibid.*, p. 95.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 93.

The question then arises, to what era is this date to be referred? To answer this question we must study the Barwāni grant carefully. In this connection I draw attention to the general similarity of this grant to three other grants viz. the so-called Indore copper-plate grants[13] of *Mahārāja* Svāmidāsa and *Mahārāja* Bhuluṇḍa and the Śirpur grant[14] of Rudradāsa, all of which were originally found in the Khandesh District[15] which borders the Barwāni State on the south. For facility of reference, I give below the texts of the Barwāni grant and one of the Khandesh grants, viz., the grant of Buluṇḍa.

The Barwāni grant[16] of *Mahārāja* Subandhu, dated Year 167 :—

L. 1 ओं स्वस्ति [।*] माहिष्मति(ती)नगरः(रात) महार(।*)जसुबन्धुः कुशलि(ली)
उदुम्बरगर्त्तापथकः(के)
2 सोहजनापद्रके स्वानायुक्तकान्समाज्ञापयति यदत्त सातिपरिभुक्तक-
3 क्षेत्रं तन्मयास्मै ब्राह्मणषष्ठिस्वामिने भरद्वाजसगोत्राया(य) वादि(ज)स-
4 नेयसब्रह्मचारिणे मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्याप्यायनार्थमाचन्द्रार्क्कार्णव-

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9 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XII, pp. 320 ff.

10 *Ibid.*, vol. XXVI, pp. 130 ff.

11 *CII.*, vol. III, p. 74.

12 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. IX, p. 271.

13 *Ibid.*, vol. XV, p. 289.

14 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XVI, pp. 98 ff.

15 I have shown in my article entitled 'An Ancient Dynasty of Khandesh' (*ABORI.*, vol. XXV, pp. 159 ff.) that the two grants of Svāmidāsa and Bhuluṇḍa originally came from Khandesh.

16 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XIX, p. 262.

5 कालीनं पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोज्यं ब्रह्मदेयमतिसृष्टं विदित्वाद्यदिवसादारभ्योपि(चि)-

6 तया ब्रह्मदेयभुक्तया भु(भुं)जतां न व्यासेधव्य(व्यासेध) ≍ कार्व्य(र्य्य) [:।*]

सं १०० ६० ७ भ(भा)द्रपदे [शु]दि स[प्त] [।*]

7 गुहदासदूतकः[॥*]

[In the margin on the left] श्रीसुबन्धोः[।*]

The Khandesh grant[17] of *Mahārāja* Bhuluṇḍa, dated Year 107—

L. 1 वल्खा[त्*]॥ परमभट्टारकपादानुद्ध्यातो महाराजभुलुण्डः समाज्ञापयति

2 सर्व्वानेवास्मत्सन्तकानायुक्तकाद्वि(न्वि)ज्ञातमस्तु वः समनुजानीमोस्य

3 भारद्वाजसगोत्रकुसारकब्राह्मणस्य आषाढण(न)न्दिविज्ञाप्या(विज्ञप्तया) उल्ल-

4 दनसीमायां खुद्दतकप्रत्ययच्चोत्रपट्टि सह मण्डलकच्छेन ब्रह्मदेय-

5 मभागमाचन्द्रार्कतारकाकालीनं(न)मन्वयभोज्यं भोगायैर्वमिदानी-

6 मस्यास्माभि ≍ कृतानुज्ञस्योचिता(त)या ब्रह्मदेयभुक्तया भुज्जत[:*] कृषा(ष)

7 ता(त)श्च सर्व्वैं रेवास्मत्पत्तीयैं[:*] समनुमन्तव्यं[।*]

8 प्रतिहारस्कन्दो दूतकः [।*] वर्षे १०० ७ फल्गु (फाल्गुन) ब १० २

[In the margin on the left] मा(म)हाराजभुलुण्डस्य[।*]

A careful study of these two grants will show that while they exhibit no such close similarity in wording as is noticed in the grants of the same royal family, they have undoubtedly certain points of resemblance, *viz.*,

(i) Each grant is inscribed on a single copper-plate.

(ii) The characters of both are box-headed,[18] the tops of letters being scooped out hollow.

(iii) The formal part of the grant is similar in both, viz., first, the mention of the place of issue, then the name of the grantor, his order to his officers who are called *āyuktakas* in both, the object of the grant, the exhortation that the grant should not be interrupted and finally, the date and the name of the *dūtaka*.

(iv) There is no imprecatory verse in either of them.

(v) The signature of the king who made the grant occurs in the *margin* on the left.

These similarities are undoubtedly noteworthy. They plainly indicate that all the four grants, three from Khandesh and one from the Barwāni State, belong to the same period which must have been earlier than that of Vākāṭaka and Traikūṭaka grants which are known to be much more elaborate in these respects. The era in which they are dated must therefore be identical. I have shown elsewhere[19] that the three grants from Khandesh are dated in the so-called Kalacuri-Cedi era founded by the Ābhīra king Īśvarasena in A.D. 249. If the Barwāni grant is dated in the same era, its date would correspond to A.D. 416-17.

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[17] *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XV, p. 291.

[18] *Ibid.*, vol. XIX, p. 261; vol. XV, plate facing p. 289.

Unlike the Khandesh grants the Barwāni grant does not refer to any suzerain even in a general manner, which shows that the power of the Ābhīras was waning at the time and *Mahārāja* Subandhu had become independent. This conjecture gains support from the Purāṇas which state that the rule of the Ābhīras lasted for just 167 years.[20]

In A.D. 416-17 Gupta power had reached its peak. Candragupta II was no doubt dead at the time and was succeeded by his son Kumāragupta, but there is no reason to suppose that Gupta dominion had suffered any diminution at the beginning of the latter's career. It may therefore be asked how Kumāragupta allowed Subandhu to enjoy independence just on the border of the Avanti province which was undoubtedly under Gupta rule at the time. The reason is not far to seek. Gupta power does not seem to have penetrated to the Anūpa country which comprised the territory along both the banks of the Narmadā, now included in the Nemad Districts of the Central Provinces and the Indore State, as well as the Barwāni and other adjoining States of the Central India Agency. This country was included in the dominion of the famous satrap Rudradāman as stated in the Girnar rock inscription.[21] After the rise of the Ābhīras about the middle of the third century A. D. it seems to have transferred its allegiance to them and adopted their era. There is no clear indication that it submitted to the Guptas when the power of the Ābhīras began to decline in the beginning of the 5th century A.D. owing to the rise of the Traikūṭakas[22] in Northern Mahārāṣṭra. It may have been allowed to continue as a buffer State between the dominions of the Traikūṭakas and the Guptas.

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[19] *ABORI.*, vol. XXV, pp. 159 ff.

[20] The Purāṇas generally assign a period of only 67 years to ten Ābhīra rulers, which appears to be improbable. I therefore adopt the reading found in a MS of the *Vāyupurāṇa* which says that the Ābhīras ruled for 167 years. See *Dynastics* etc., p. 46, n. 37.

[21] *Ep. Ind.*, vol. VII, p. 44.

[22] The earliest Traikūṭaka king was Indradatta who must have flourished in c. A.D. 425 as his son Dahrasena's Pārḍi grant is dated K. 207 (A.D. 456-57). The Traikūṭaka dominion extended over Nāsik, Koṅkan and South Gujarat.

The subsequent history of the Anūpa country is still shrouded in the mist of obscurity. It is not known to what dynasty Subandhu belonged, but his family does not appear to have reigned long at Māhiṣmatī. The Vākāṭaka Pṛthivīṣeṇa II states in his Bālāghāṭ plates that his father Narendrasena's suzerainty was acknowledged by the rulers of Mālava and Mekalā. Narendrasena was the son of Pravarasena II and therefore the great-grandson of Candragupta-Vikramāditya. He must consequently have flourished in *circa* A.D. 450-70. If the Vākāṭaka empire extended to Malwa during his reign, it must have engulfed the intervening kingdom of Anūpa. In fact Anūpa seems to have been ruled by a Vākāṭaka prince at least towards the close of the 5th century A.D. I have shown elsewhere[23] that the narrative in the eighth chapter of the *Daśakumāracarita* contains much historical information about the last period of Vākāṭaka rule. There we are told that Puṇyavarman, the ruler of Vidarbha, whom I have identified with the famous Vākāṭaka emperor Hariṣeṇa, had incorporated Māhiṣmatī into his dominion and placed one of his sons on its throne. Vākāṭaka rule does not appear to have continued long at this place, for in *circa* A.D. 550, Kṛṣṇarāja, the founder of the Early Kalacuri Dynasty established himself at Māhiṣmatī.[24] Some of his descendants also continued to rule there until the capital was transferred to Tripurī near Jubbulpur.

It is well known that the Early Kalacuris used the era of A.D. 249-50 in all their grants including those issued from Ujjainī and Vidiśā. They must have adopted this era because it had been current in their home province of Anūpa. This also makes it probable that the earlier copper-plates of *Mahārāja* Subandhu who ruled over the same province are dated in the same reckoning.

The copper-plate discovered in the Bāgh Cave II thus clearly indicates that at least some of the caves at the place had already been excavated in the beginning of the 5th century A.D. when Subandhu was reigning. They can therefore be referred to the end of the 4th century A.D. at the latest.

These caves are thus earlier by about a century than the Ajaṇṭā Caves XVI, XVII and XIX which were excavated towards the close of the fifth century A.D. during the reign of the Vākāṭaka Hariṣeṇa.[25]

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[23] My article entitled *Historical Data in Daṇḍin's Daśakumāracarita* is under publication in the *Annals* of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.

[24] The Ābhona plates of Kṛṣṇarāja's son Śaṅkaragaṇa are dated K. 347 (A.D. 596-97). They were issued towards the close of his reign, for he was soon succeeded by his son Buddharāja who was defeated by Maṅgaleśa. Kṛṣṇarāja may therefore have flourished in *circa* A.D. 550-575.

[25] The inscriptions in Caves XVI and XVII mention Hariṣeṇa as the contem-

This estimate of their age is also confirmed by the form of the object of worship in the *vihāras* excavated at Bāgh. Dr. Vogel has already shown that in the earlier *vihāras* such as those at Nasik, the object of worship was a *caitya* between the usual adoring figures.[26] In the Gupta age this gave place to a chapel consisting of a vestibule or ante-room and a sanctum, the latter containing a Buddha seated between two Bodhisattvas. Such a chapel is noticed in the Ajaṇṭā caves XVI and XVII which are *vihāras* of the Gupta age. It is also referred to in the inscriptions[27] on the walls of those caves so that it cannot be supposed to be a later addition as in the case of *Vihāra* No. XX at Nasik. In this respect the Bāgh caves represent a transitional stage as shown by Dr. Vogel.[28] 'The cave No. 2,' says he, 'is indeed provided with a chapel, but the sanctuary contains the ancient object of worship in the form of a rock-cut *caitya* ..Whereas, therefore, the *caitya* still retains the place of honour as chief object of worship, a number of rock-cut figures of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas are arrayed along the walls of the vestibule.' This also explains the anomaly to which Mr. Garde has called attention,[29] namely, that though the caves were the work of Mahāyāna Buddhists, the principal object of worship in them is the pure and simple Dagoba and not the figure of the Buddha as in the later caves of Ajaṇṭā.

The Bāgh caves therefore occupy, in respect of age, an intermediate position between the Nasik and Ajaṇṭā caves. From the evidence supplied by the grants of Subandhu it appears clear that they must be referred to about the end of the fourth century A.D. at the latest.

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porary ruling emperor who flourished in *circa* A.D. 475-500. See my article on the inscription in Cave XVI, Hyderabad Arch. Series, No. 14, p. 9.

[26] *The Bagh Caves*, p. 28.

[27] The inscription in Cave XVI refers to it as *Caityamandira* in l. 20 and that in Cave XVII, as *muni-rāja-caitya* in l. 24.

[28] *The Bagh Caves*, p. 29.

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 22.

# Some unorthodox marriages in the family of Yadu

Marriage among the higher castes in modern India is generally guided by the rules laid down in the Dharmaśāstras and Purāṇas. Among those rules the following are well-known: 1. The bridegroom and the bride should be of the same caste (*Āpastamba* II. 6. 13. 4; *Manu* III. 4; *Bhāgavata Pur*. XI. 17. 39). In case of an inter-caste marriage the husband should be of a higher caste than that of the wife (*Manu* III. 12).

2. A marriage should not take place between persons who have the same Gotra and Pravara and who are related within seven or five degrees on the father's or mother's side respectively (*Āpastamba* II. 5. 11. 15-16; *Gautama* IV. 2-5; *Manu* III. 5; *Viṣṇu Pur*. III. 10. 23).

3. The bridegroom should be older than the bride so much so that if the bridegroom be of twentyfour the bride should be eight years old and that a bridgroom of thirty years should marry a bride of twelve (*Manu* IX. 94; *Bhāgavata Pur*. XI. 17. 39; *Viṣṇu Pur*. III. 10. 16).

4. One should not marry a woman who had been once a wife to another (*Āpastamba* II. 6. 13. 4; *Manu* IX. 65-66; *Yajñavalkya* I. 52). Though exceptions might be made in the case of a woman whose husband was lost, or dead, or turned an ascetic, or impotent, or outcast (*Parāśara* IV. 30; *Nārada* XII; *Vasiṣṭha* XVII; *Garuḍa Pur*. 107. 28; *Agni Pur*. 154. 5; *Kauṭilya Artha*. III. 2-4), yet, as Vātsyāyana says, "the marriage of a woman once married before is not desirable though not forbidden." (*Kāmasūtra* I. 5. 3). Modern commentators of Dharmaśāstras state that intercaste marriage and remarriage of women might have been allowed in previous ages but that a passage in the *Āditya Purāṇa* has definitely forbidden them for the Kali age. In the face of such a dictum, they declare, even the text on the subject in the *Parāśara Dharmaśāstra* which claims itself to be the legal authority for the Kali age (I. 23) must be brushed aside.

Now let me take a few cases from the family in which Śrī Kṛṣṇa was born to examine how far the above-mentioned rules were followed in practice. I choose the family of Yadu because it is stated in the Purāṇas that the Yādavas were regarded as the noblest of the Kṣatriyas. "One who hears the history of the Yādavas whose actions were regulated by Viṣṇu Himself is absolved of all his sins and goes to the highest heaven." (*Viṣṇu Pur*. IV. 15. 25-26; *Bhāg. Pur*. IX. 23. 19).

1. First of all, Yadu himself was born of an intercaste union in the *pratiloma* (inverse) order, his father Yayāti being a Kṣatriya and his mother Devayānī being the daughter of the Brahmin sage Śukrācārya (*Viṣ.* IV, 10. 2). Yet Yadu was not degraded because of his unorthodox origin.

2. One of Yadu's descendants in the male line was Jyāmagha. He had no issue by his wife Śaivyā, and though he very much desired to have a son he was too afraid of his wife to marry a second time. One day while out on a military expedition he picked up a lovely maiden whom he thought of marrying. But when on his return to his capital with the maiden seated by his side in the chariot he was questioned by his irate wife he got nervous and blurted out that the girl was meant for his son, forgetting that he had no son. Śaivyā simply smiled in disgust. As luck would have it, Śaivyā unexpectedly conceived in her advanced age and gave birth to a son, who was named Vidarbha. Vidarbha later married the above-mentioned maiden and had by her two sons (*Viṣ.* IV. 12; *Bhāg.* IX. 23). In this case the wife was older than the husband by at least sixteen years.

3. A later descendant of Yadu was Sātvata who had seven sons, of whom Vṛṣṇi, Andhaka and Mahābhoja were more famous. From Sātvata was born through the direct male line of Vṛṣṇi in the thirteenth generation Vasudeva. He married Devakī who was similarly descended from Sātvata through the direct male line of Andhaka (*Bhāg.* IX. 24). According to *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (IV. 14) both Vasudeva and Devakī were descended from Andhaka in the eleventh and tenth generations respectively. That Vasudeva was a kinsman of Devakī is mentioned clearly also in *Harivaṃśa* (Viṣṇuparva, 35, 8). From this marriage was born Kṛṣṇa himself. This was clearly a case of *Sagotra* (i.e. within the same Gotra) marriage, but nobody found any fault with it or regarded it as unusual.

4. Vṛṣṇi's grandson was Anamitra. A descendant of Anamitra through Nighna was Satrājit whose daughter was Satyabhāmā. Another descendant of Anamitra through Śvafalka was Akrura. Thus it is seen that Kṛṣṇa, Akrura and Satyabhāmā were all born in the family of Anamitra. But that did not prevent Akrura from trying for the hand of Satyabhāmā, who was eventually married to Kṛṣṇa (*Viṣṇu* IV. 13.35; *Bhāg,* X. 56.44). That they all belonged to the same Gotra is clearly mentioned in *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (IV. 13.16).

5. Another wife of Kṛṣṇa was Rukmiṇī, daughter of king Bhīṣmaka descended from Mahābhoja. Thus both Kṛṣṇa and Rukmiṇī were born in the family of Sātvata, and therefore belonged to the same Gotra.

6. A third wife of Kṛṣṇa was Mitravindā, daughter of Rājādhidevī,

who was Vasudeva's sister and hence a paternal aunt of Kṛṣṇa (*Bhāg.* X. 58.31). It was a marriage of love between two cousins, and stood within the prohibited degree of relationship according to the Dharmaśāstras. But nobody blamed Kṛṣṇa for this when he carried her off from the Svayaṃvara hall after defeating the assembled princes.

7. A fourth wife of Kṛṣṇa was Bhadrā who was similarly related to him. She was the daughter of Śrutakīrti who was a sister of Vasudeva and hence a paternal aunt of Kṛṣṇa (*Bhāg.* X, 58.56). Such frequent instances prove that such matrimonial alliances were normal in those days whatever might be the injunctions in the Śāstras.

8. Kṛṣṇa killed the Asura king Naraka of Prāgjyotiṣapura in Assam and appropriated his harem consisting of sixteen thousand women whom he married (*Bhāg.* X. 59). This was a case of marrying women who had been married before. After the death of Kṛṣṇa many of his wives, probably of this barbarian stock, willingly allowed themselves to be abducted by Ābhira robbers and went to live with them (*Viṣ.* V. 38.26).

9. Kṛṣṇa's son by Rukmiṇī was Pradyumna. When he was seven days old he was carried away by an Asura prince named Śaṃvara and was entrusted to the care of his childless wife Māyāvatī (*Harivaṃśa*, Viṣṇu Parva, 104, 6-7). When Pradyumna grew up into manhood Māyāvatī one day offered her love to him. He was at first shocked at this unseemly behaviour having been under the impression that she was his mother. Knowing from her the fact of his birth in the Yādava family he killed Śaṃvara and married her (*Viṣṇu* V. 27; *Bhāg.* X. 55). This was an instance where the bride was much older than the husband, probably older than his mother, and had been the wife of another.

10. Another wife of Pradyumna was Rukmavatī, who was the daughter of his maternal uncle Rukmi (*Bhāg.* X. 61). Here is again a case of marriage within the prohibited degree.

11. Pradyumna's son Aniruddha similarly married his maternal uncle's daughter, Rocanā, who was the grand-daughter of Rukmi (*Bhāg.* X. 61).

12. Another wife of Aniruddha was Ūṣā, daughter of the Asura king Bāna of Śonitapura in Assam. This was a union between members of two different races, not to speak of castes.

13. Subhadrā, sister of Kṛṣṇa, married Arjuna the Pāṇḍava, who was her cousin being a son of Prithā or Kuntī, sister of Vasudeva.

14. Subhadrā's grandson, Parikṣit the Pāṇḍava king followed the usual custom and married his maternal uncle's daughter Irāvatī (*Bhāg.* I. 16.2).

15. Brahmadatta was a Yajurvedī Brahmin sage who acted as the priest at the Aśvamedha sacrifice of Vasudeva. He married

five hundred wives, of whom two hundred were Brahmin, one hundred were Kṣatriya, one hundred Vaiśya and one hundred Śudra. By these wives he had five hundred sons and five hundred daughters. Most of the daughters were given in marriage to princes of the Yadu family (*Harivaṃśa*. Viṣṇuparva, 83). This story, like many other similar stories relating to other families, shows that intercaste marriage, even in the inverse order, was not unknown in those days.

There was laxity in the observance of Dharmaśāstra rules in those days not only with regard to marriage but also in matters of food and drink. Thus the drinking of spirituous liquor, which is called even in Śruti literature (*Chāndogya Up*. V. 10.9) one of the four greatest sins (*mahāpātaka*) causing loss of caste not only to the offender but also to those who associate with him, was freely indulged in by members of the Yādava family. The hard drinking Baladeva was not an exception in the family. The princes of the Yādava family had no objection to get intoxicated along with their wives with different kinds of spirituous liquor, such as Maireya, Mādhvika, Surā and Āsava, and to eat various kinds of meat including that of buffalo. Of course, there were some among them like Uddhava who did not drink or eat meat (*Harivaṃśa*, Viṣṇu, 89). The drinking habit inspite of the greatest condemnation in the Dharmaśāstras continued even among Brahmins as late as the seventh and eighth centuries A.D. in the very heart of Āryāvarta. The great reformer Kumārila Bhaṭṭa observes, "Among the people of modern days we find the Brāhmaṇa women of the countries of Ahicchatra and Mathurā to be addicated to drinking." (*Tantra-vārtikā*, I. III. 4). He condemned this practice in the case of Brahmins only, but not of Kṣatriya and Vaiśya men and women, if the liquor was distilled from fruits or flowers (Mādhvi) and molasses (Gauḍi) and not from grains (Surā).

The marrying of the daughter of one's maternal uncle or paternal aunt is forbidden in almost all the Dharmaśāstras. Baudhāyana, however, permits it for the people of the Deccan. "There is a dispute regarding five practices both in the south and in the north. We will explain those peculiar to the south. They are, to eat in the company of an uninitiated person, to eat in the company of one's wife, to eat stale food, to marry the daughter of maternal uncle, or a paternal aunt. Now the customs peculiar to the north are, to deal in wool, to drink rum, to sell animals that have teeth in the upper and in the lower jaws, to follow the trade of arms, to go to sea. He, who follows these practices in any other country than where they prevail, commits sin. For each of these customs the rule of the locality should be considered the authority. Gautama declares that that is false. And one should not take heed of either set of practices because they are opposed to the tradition of the Śiṣṭas.'' (*Baudh. Dharma*. I. 1.2). The family of Kṛṣṇa, however, cannot be regarded as Deccanese, nor the family of Arjuna and Parīkṣit.

To those who declare that practices like widow-marriage, inter-caste marriage, etc., might have been allowed in previous ages, but have been especially forbidden for the Kali age, it may be pointed out that Kṛṣṇa and his sons lived in Kali age and not Dvāpara age. This is known from the story of the Indian Rip Van Winkle, King Mucukunda. After burning to ashes Kālayavana who had broken his long sleep he found that the world had in the meanwhile become degenerate on account of the advent of Kali, and so he left for Gandhamādana mountain, the place of Nara-nārāyaṇa (*Viṣṇu Pur.* V. 24.5; *Bhāg*. X. 52.2). This event took place just when Kṛṣṇa had to transfer the capital city of the Yādavas from Mathurā to Dvārakā, and when he was a comparatively young man. The Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas, however, could not reconcile the existance side by side of the influence of Kṛṣṇa and of Kali, and therefore offer an explanation that though Kali had entered the world before the advent of Kṛṣṇa[1] he could not extend his overwhelming influence so long as Kṛṣṇa was alive (*Viṣṇu Pur*. IV. 24.36; *Bhāg. Pur*. I. 15.36; XII. 2.30). But this statement is belied by Mucukunda's observation. A more definite date of the beginning of Kali age is given by the great astronomer Varāhamihira. ''The Kurus and the Pāṇḍavas fought when 653 years had passed of the Kali age.''[2] In other words, Kali had come about six centuries before the birth of Kṛṣṇa.

The real reason for this state of anomaly is not the advent of Kali but that the Brahmin legislators framed laws not always in accordance with actual practices in society but with a view to set up certain ideals of conduct. Thus the Dharmaśāstras contained a mixture of both customary laws and moral maxims, and it took in some cases many centuries for the customs in question to be modified according to the ideals.

N. K. DUTT

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[1] अन्ववर्त्ततेति पूर्व्वमेवांशेन प्रविष्टस्य स्वेन रूपेणानुवृत्तिरुक्ता —Śrīdharswāmī on *Bhāg*. I. 15. 36.

[2] शतेषु षट्सु सार्द्धेषु त्र्यधिकेषु च भूतले। कलेर्गतेषु वर्षाणामभवन कुरुपाण्डवाः॥

# Bengali Scholars at Benares

## ( 1657 A.D. )

In a Marathi book[1] published in 1926 the text of a valuable *Nirṇayapatra* written at Benares in 1657 A.D. containing the signatures of 77 paṇḍits of Benares was printed. We shall try to pick out the Naiyāyikas among them and give an up-to-date account of the five distinguished scholars among the signatories four of them being of Bengal.

### 1. *Mādhavadeva (No. 51)*

Mādhavadeva (No. 51) is evidently identical with the distinguished author of the *Nyāyasāra* (Benares Ed., 1962 V. S., pp. 246). He wrote the book at Benares where he migrated from a village named Dhārāsura situated on the banks of the Godāvarī.[2] He refers in this book to a previous work of his *Guṇarahasyaṭippaṇī* (pp. 96, 111, 116 & 208) i.e. a commentary on the *Guṇarahasya* of Rāmabhadra Sārvabhauma which is available in Mss. and to two other small tracts of his *Śabdaprāmāṇyavāda* (p. 3) and *Evakāravāda* (p. 241). In one place (p. 225) he refuted the views of Bhaṭṭojī Dīkṣita from the *Śabdakaustubha*. This Mādhavadeva is also the author of the *Tarkabhāṣāsāramañjarī*[3] where he refers to his own *Nyāyasāra* and cites the views of Rudra Bhaṭṭācārya and Gaurīkānta Sārvabhauma. That he flourished in the middle of the 17th cent. A. D. is proved by the references found in a commentary on the *Kusumāñjali* by Trilocanadeva Nyāyapañcānana, who was a grandson of this Mādhavadeva and not a scholar of Navadvīpa as is generally believed. We examined the only Ms. of the latter book now preserved in the Sarasvatī Bhavana, Benares.[4] On fol. 4a we find :—

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[1] *Citlebhaṭṭaprakaraṇa* by R. S. Pimputkar, Bombay, pp. 92. Prof. P. K. Gode has reproduced the document with the names of the signatories in the *Poona Orientalist*, vol. VIII, Nos. 3 & 4, pp. 5-10, adding useful notes. Two names have been omitted by him घुमरे महादेवभट्ट (No. 63) and साठे उपनामकमहादेव (No. 76).

[2] Vide *Ind. Office Cat.*, I, pp. 675-76. Read 'Dhārāsura' for 'Dhārāpura' in the colophon to the printed edition. Mādhavadeva's grandfather was also named Mādhavadeva and lived on the banks of the Godāvarī. The manuscript of *Padārthaviveka* preserved in the Cal. Sanskrit College (*Des. Cat.*, Darśana part, p. 298, Ms. No. 536) is really a fragment (upto Pratyakṣakhaṇḍa) of the *Nyāyasāra* of Mādhavadeva.

[3] Eggeling : *Ind. Off. Cat.*, I, p. 608.

[4] Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Ms. No. 100, fol. 3-38. This same Ms. had originally 40 foll. including two foll. at the beginning. Hall (*The Pandit* of 2-12-1872, p. clxiv).

न चेश्वरेपि सुखापत्तिरिति वाच्यम् अदृष्टरूपकारणाभावात् । अधिकं त्वस्मत्पितामहकृतन्यायसारे बोध्यम् ।

The reference is to p. 55 of the printed edition of the *Nyāyasāra*. There are five other references to the same work (foll. 10a, 12a, 20b, 27a & 36b) and once (fol. 21b) to his grandfather's comm. on the *Tarkabhāṣā*. Trilocana evidently read at Navadvīpa. Under *Kārikā* 10 (Stavaka I) he indulges in a bit of Navyanyāya dialectics of the most advanced sort upon a passage of the *Guṇadīdhiti* of Śiromaṇi in foll. 12b-15a (*vide* Sarasvatī Bhavana Ed. of the *Guṇadīdhiti* pp. 51-2), where the views of सार्व्वभौम-कृष्णदासभट्टाचार्य्याः (fol. 13b), of गुणानन्दविद्यावागीशभट्टाचार्य्याः (fol. 14a) and of ( भवानन्द ) सिद्धान्तवागीशभट्टाचार्य्याः (fol. 14b) are successively refuted before he states his own views regarding a term ( स्पर्शावृत्ति ) in a definition of Śiromaṇi (*Guṇadīdhiti*, p. 52), concluding with the very interesting remarks:—

व्यावृत्तिद्वयं स्पर्शावृत्तिपदस्येति न्यायपञ्चाननश्रीत्रिलोचनदेवविजृम्भितः पन्था(:) श्रीनवद्वीपस्थाध्यापकै(:) परिशीलितोपि अन्यदेशीयैरध्यापकैः गुणादीधितिपुस्तकं दृष्ट्वा विभाव्य दूषणीयमिति (*sic.*) (fol. 15a)

Trilocana refers to Gadādhara Bhaṭṭācārya in the following two passages:—

(i) अत्र प्रश्नोत्तरभावेन परिष्कारप्रकार(:) श्रीमदुदयनाचार्यकृतात्मतत्त्वविवेकीयदीधितिव्याख्याने श्रीगदाधरभट्टाचार्यविरचिते अनुसन्धेयः । (fol. 32b)

(ii) अधिकं तु तर्कग्रन्थदीधितिव्याख्याने श्रीगदाधरभट्टाचार्यविरचिते बोध्यम् । (fol. 33b).

The use of 'Śrī' proves that Trilocana wrote when Gadādhara was still alive. Gadādhara received a land-grant from the Rājā of Navadvīpa, Rāghava, in 1661 A.D. and died according to tradition in 1110 B. E. (1703-4 A.D.) at the age of 105.[5] Trilocana must have been at Navadvīpa in the last quarter of the 17th century A.D. and wrote his book about 1700 A.D.[6]

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(*Contributions*, p. 84) stated evidently on the strength of the missing first page that Trilocana was 'the pupil of one Rāma of Navadvīpa.' Rāma cannot be identified; he may be Rāma Tarkālaṅkāra, the eldest son of Gadādhara Bhaṭṭācārya. We take this opportunity of expressing our gratitude to Dr. Mangal Deva Sastri, Principal, Benares Sanskrit College, and Pandit Narayana Sastri Khiste Sāhityācārya of the Mss. department, for allowing us facilities to examine this and other valuable Mss.

[5] K. C. Rādhi: *Navadvipa-Mahimā*, 2nd. Ed., p. 178. The dates of Gadādhara's birth (1006 B.E.) and death were discovered in a slip of paper amongst the family records of his descendants at Navadvīpa; *vide* Phaṇibhūṣaṇa Tarkavāgīśa: *Nyāya-paricaya* (in Bengali), 2nd Ed., Intro. p. 31. About Gadādhara's great longevity we had heard from other descendants of his in the Rajshahi district.

[6] The name of Trilocana's father is not known. A Nyāya Ms. of Tanjore (*Des.*

## 2. *Raghudeva Bhaṭṭācārya* (*No.* 9)

This distinguished Bengali scholar who lent his name to the above document (No. 9) and had the title of *Nyāyālaṅkāra*, undoubtedly had his seminary at Benares. His works on *Navyanyāya* are almost unknown in Bengal. The Jaina scholar Yaśovijayagaṇi (c. 1608-88 A.D.) who read incognito at Benares for 12 years (1626-38 A.D.) quotes him[7] and the Bengali poet Cirañjīva Bhaṭṭācārya who also read and lived at Benares, composed a verse about him in the *Kāvyavilāsa* (Ben. Ed., p. 12) as an example of गुरुविषयारतिः. The local historian of Navadvīpa is thus wrong in describing him as a scholar of Navadvīpa.[8] His major works are:—

(i) *Tattvadīpikā* on the *Cintāmaṇi*: the Madras MS. (D. 3999, foll. 116) goes up to the first part of the *Anumānakhaṇḍa*.

(ii) *Niruktiprakāśa* in three parts (Pratyakṣa, Anumāna and Śabda). There are several copies of this book preserved in the Sarasvatī Bhavana at Benares (Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika MSS. Nos. 333-340). The first part begins:—

प्रणम्य जगदीशानमीशानमुत्तमोत्तमम् ।
तर्कवागीश्वरं वन्दे गुरुं तार्किकसत्तमम् ॥

व्रज सखि बहिरेष द्वारदेशे गिरीशः स्थित इति पुरनारीवाग्विलासैर्भवानीम् ।
तुहिननिलयबुद्ध्या प्रोल्लसन्तीमुदीक्ष्य प्रमथगणवयस्यो जातहास्यः पुनातु ॥

प्रत्यक्षतस्तदालोकात्तदीयटिप्पनादपि ।
अर्थाः संगृह्य लिख्यन्ते रघुदेवेन युक्तिभिः ॥ Ms. No. 334.

It is thus based on the works of Gaṅgeśa, Pakṣadhara and a sub-commentary of the latter, but not on those of Śiromaṇi. The second part of the work on Anumāna is sometimes called 'Navīnanirmāṇa' (*J.A.S.B.*, 1915, p. 288) from his own words:—संक्षेपतः श्रीरघुदेवशर्म्मा नवीननिर्म्माणमिदं तनोति (Ms. No. 333) This, however, only means that it is a *newer composition* than the previous work *Tattvadīpikā* and *Niruktiprakāśa* is its real name.[9]

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*Cat.*, p. 4571) belonged, it is stated, to one Vīreśvaradeva, son of 'Śrī-Dhārāsurakara-Mādhavadeva'. Trilocana may have been his son.

[7] *JASB.*, 1910, p. 468; *IHQ.*, XVII, pp. 1-5.

[8] *Navadvīpa-Mahimā*, 1st Ed., pp. 80-81 described him as a descendant of the famous Bhavānanda Siddhāntavāgīśa. In the 2nd Ed., pp. 181-2 he is described as a grandson of Gadādhara. Both the statements are quite unwarranted. As a matter of fact Gadādhara had a son named Raghudeva whose title was Nyāyavāgīśa and whose date falls late in the 17th cent. A.D.

[9] Cf. Tanjore Ms. No. 6595: निरुक्तिप्रकाशे अनुमानखण्डे परामर्शग्रन्थः ।

(iii) *Nyāyakusumāñjali-kārikā-vyākhyā*: a Ms. of 1739 V.S. has been discovered.[10]

(iv) *Dravyasārasaṅgraha*: on the Dravya section of the *Kiraṇāvalī*. (Stein: *Jammu Cat.*, p. 147).

(v-vii) It is well-known that the Naiyāyikas of the 16th and 17th centuries A.D. generally proved their acumen by writing commentaries on all the eight well-known works of Śiromaṇi. Raghudeva, it appears, did not touch any one of the five major works of Śiromaṇi (*Dīdhiti* on Pratyakṣa, Anumāna, Guṇaprakāśa, Līlāvatī and Ātmatattvaviveka), but only commented on the smaller tracts, Ākhyātavāda, Nañvāda and Padārthakhaṇḍana.

(viii) *Siddhāntatattva*: only three foll. (1, 2 & 4) of this new work of Raghudeva have been discovered. It begins:—(Ms. with us)

नन्दात्मजत्वेन विभाव्यमानं गोपालबालाङ्गनरिङ्गमाणं ।
प्रणम्य बालप्रतिबोधनाय तनोति तत्त्वं रघुदेवधीरः ।।

अथ सिद्धान्ततत्त्वं निरूप्यते । अथ सामान्यतः पदार्थो द्विविधः अभावो भावश्च ।

Raghudeva is better known as the author of a large number of small tracts on various Navyanyāya topics e. g. Muktivāda (Ms. No. 1100 of Sarasvatī Bhavana, Benares, dated 1709 V.S.), Sāmagrīvāda (No. 1106. *ibid.*, dated 1716 V.S.), Anumitiparāmarśavāda (Ms. dated 1677 A.D.: Hall No. cxli) and Niścayattvanirukti (L. 1428). Hall stated long ago (*Contributions*, cxcvii) that Raghudeva was a pupil of Harirāma Tarkavāgīśa, and was thus a senior fellow-pupil of Gadādhara Bhaṭṭācārya.

### 3. *Govinda Bhaṭṭācārya* (No 27)

There is much confusion about the identity of this scholar. Govinda is a very common name and the title 'Bhaṭṭācārya' was the monopoly of all Bengali Naiyāyikas. We are convinced, however, that this Govinda was the only son of that giant scholar Rudra Nyāyavācaspati and grandson of Vidyānivāsa Bhaṭṭācārya, the leader of Bengali scholars at Benares for a long time. He was the author of only two works viz.

(i) *Nyāyasaṅkṣepa* or the *Nyāyarahasya*, an elementary treatise in 172 *kārikās* with a commentary by himself. It was composed in 1550 Śaka (=1628-9 A.D.) *vide* Stein: *Jammu Cat.* p. 149. At the end of the book it is written:—

न्यायवाचस्पतेः सूनोरियं गोविन्दशर्म्मणः ।
कृतिः कृतधियां भूयादमन्दानन्ददायिनी ।।

It should be noted that this book is quite unknown in Bengal, where no copy of it has yet been discovered.

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[10] *Sarasvati Bhavana Studies*, V. p. 167. Also Stein: *Jammu Cat.*, p. 148.

(ii) *Padyamuktāvali*: its only copy is preserved in the Anup Sanskrit Library at Bikaner.[11] It is a brilliant panegyric upon Asaf Khan, the chief minister of emperor Shah Jahan, containing a century of elegant verses in different metres.

Begins:—आकलितकामतन्त्वं मोहनमन्त्वं मनस्विनीमनसाम् ।
कन्दर्पकान्ति-(चोरं नन्दकि)-शोरं मुहुः स्मरत ॥

There are 17 invocatory verses at the beginning, of which the first five verses are mutilated. Verse 18 runs:—

अस्ति क्ष्माचक्रशक्रा**कवर**-कुलमणि-श्री**जहांगीर**सूनु-
श्रीमच्छ्री**साहजाहा**भिधनृपतिमणेर्भूमहेन्द्रस्य मन्त्री ।
नाम्ना श्री**आसफ**-क्ष्मापतिरिति जगदुद्गीतसत्कीर्त्तिपूरः
क्रूरप्रत्यर्थिपृथ्वीपतिनिचयचमूचूर्णनोदीर्णतेजाः ॥

Ends:—अन्योक्तिप्रणिधानकौशलजुषो वैदग्ध्यदीक्षागुरो-
र्गूढोक्त्याशयवर्णनैकविदुषः श्रीलासफक्ष्मापतेः ।
अन्तर्मोदविधानसाधनतया रत्नावलीयं मया
तस्यैव ग्रथिता गुणैः सुमनसां भूयात् कवीनां मुदे ॥ (v. 101)

इति श्रीमहोपाध्यायश्रीरुद्रन्यायवाचस्पतिभट्टाचार्य्यात्मजश्रीगोविन्दभट्टाचार्य्यविरचिता पद्यमुक्तावली समाप्ता ।

It is apparent that Govinda like his contemporary Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja wooed favours of the Royal Court. There is evidence that he received his lessons on Nyāya from his own father. At the end of one of his numerous works, the *Dravyakiraṇāvaliparīkṣā*, Rudra Nyāyavācaspati stated that it was written for his 'promising' son Govinda:—

क्षित्यप्तैजससंभृता वहुगुणैरुद्दीपिता कर्मभिः
श्लाघ्या जातिविशेषयोगसुभगा सार्था परीक्षा मया ।
रम्या कापि पुरीव पौरुषरुचेः सूनोरनूनोन्नते(:)
गोविन्दस्य कृते कृतेयममलप्रज्ञप्रमोदास्पदम् ॥

(fol. 115 of Bikaner Ms. No. 1166)

This Govinda must be distinguished from a number of his contemporary namesakes. Govinda Nyāyavāgīśa of Navadvīpa received grants from Rājā Rāghava in 1661 A.D. and in the deed he was styled a Mahāmahopādhyāya. The family claims descent from Vāsudeva Sārvabhauma.[12] The name of his father has been discovered recently in a genealogical work as Rāmakṛṣṇa Vidyālaṅkāra. So he was a different person altogether. Another Govinda having the title of

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[11] S. R. Bhandarkar: *Rep. on the 2nd Tour for Search of Sanskrit Mss. 1904-5 & 1905-6 (1907)*, p. 50. We are indebted to Sir Jadunath Sarkar Kt. and the Bikaner authorities for a transcript of this work.

[12] *Navadvipa-mahimā*, 1st Ed., p. 88. *IHQ.*, XVI, p. 59

'Bhaṭṭācārya-cakravartī' was the author of four works on Navyanyāya e.g. *Samāsavāda*, *Muktiviveccana*,[13] and commentaries on *Ātmatattvaviveka* (L. 1526) and *Padārthakhaṇḍana* (Ms. at Navadvipa examined by us). All his works are to be found in Bengal alone and are not known elsewhere. On the other hand, the works of Vidyānivāsa, Rudra Nyāyavācaspati or Govinda Bhaṭṭācārya are hardly to be met with in Bengal. Narasiṃha Pañcānana, author of the *Nyāyasiddhāntamañjarī-bhūṣā* was the son of :

श्रीमच्छ्रीयुतगौडमण्डलमहीविख्यातसत्कीर्त्तिनाः
तर्कालंकृतिनः परं सुकृतिनो गोविन्दनामाभिधाः ॥
(*Ind. Off. Cat.*, I, p. 641 Ms. dated 1730 V.S.)

This Govinda "Tarkālaṅkāra" as well as Govinda Nyāyālaṅkāra, father of Kṛṣṇa Nyāyavāgīśa, another commentator of the *Nyāyasiddhāntamañjarī* (L. 1408) are apparently different persons.

## 4. *Rāmarāma Bhaṭṭācārya (No. 52)*

This forgotten scholar of Benares has left no work to perpetuate his memory. Fortunately he was one of the teachers of the great Nāgojī Bhaṭṭa, who writes at the end of the *Laghumañjuṣā* :

अधीत्य फणिभाष्याब्धिं सुधीन्द्रहरिदीक्षितात् ।
न्यायतन्त्रं रामरामाद्वादिरक्षोघ्नरामतः ॥ (Chowkh. Ed. p. 1573)

The commentary *Kalā* adds the note **रामरामात् = रामरामभट्टाचार्यात् ।** Nāgoji, moreover, invokes his name again to cover his apparent deficiency in Navyanyāya :

दृढस्तर्केऽस्य नाभ्यास इति चिन्त्यं न पण्डिते ।
दृषदोपि हि सन्तीर्णाः पयोधौ रामयोगतः ॥ (*Ibid.*, p. 1574)

## 5. *Jayarāma Nyāyapañcānana (No. 74)*

One of the works of this great 'Jagadguru' of Benares, the *Nyāyasiddhāntamālā*, is now partly available in print and the learned Editor, Dr. M. D. Sastri, has collected all information about him in the Introduction (Sarasvatī Bhavana Ed., 1928). We shall attempt to clear one or two doubtful points. Jayarāma was a pupil of Rāmabhadra. Dr. Sastri, following a suggestion of Mm. G. Kavirāja, tries to prove from chronological evidence that it cannot be Rāmabhadra Sārvabhauma but may be Rāmabhadra Siddhāntavāgīśa, grandson of the famous Jagadīśa Tarkālaṅkāra (Intro. pp. 17-19). This conclusion is not supported by actual facts. In the first place Rāmabhadra Siddhāntavāgīśa, the author of a single unexceptional commentary on his grandfather's work *Śabdaśaktiprakāśikā*, does not belong to the front rank of Nadia scholars and is not so regarded at Navadvīpa. In the *Nyāyasiddhāntamālā* (p. 62) the following passage is cited by Jayarāma from a work of his teacher:

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[13] Ms. at V.R. Museum, Rajshahi, dated स्वयम्भ्वाननं सागरं वाणचन्द्रं (1574?)

यत्तु सिद्धान्ताविरुद्धः पञ्चावयवोपपन्नः इत्यपि लभ्यते इति भाष्यव्याख्यानं तदसत्। सिद्धान्तेत्यादिलभ्यस्यापसिद्धान्तन्यूनत्वादेर्निग्रहस्थानपदेनैव लाभात्। पञ्चावयवा न प्रयोक्तव्या इति समयवन्धाधीनजल्पाव्याप्तेश्चेति **गुरवः**।

This is taken clearly from the *Nyāyarahasya* of Rāmabhadra Sārvabhauma (Sarasvatī Bhavana Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika Ms. No. 19, fol. 26b-27a) under Sūtra I. ii. 2. The chronological difficulties mentioned by Dr. Sastri have to be solved by taking both Rāmabhadra and Jayarāma as long-lived persons. Jayarāma must have been one of the last pupils of Rāmabhadra, whose period of activity roughly falls in the 3rd quarter of the 16th century (1550-75 A.D.). Hitherto all scholars have taken the author of the *Tilaka* commentary on the *Kāvyaprakāśa* as identical with this Jayarāma Nyāyapañcānana. We shall venture to raise our doubts in the matter. Jayarāma, the commentator of the *Kāvyaprakāśa*, is cited by name by Śrīvatsalāñchana Bhaṭṭācārya, another famous (Bengali) commentator, who preceded both Jagannātha Paṇḍitarāja and Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa. (*vide* Jhalkikar's Ed. of *Kāvyaprakāśa*, Intro. p. 33). Śrīvatsa evidently belonged to the middle of the 16th cent. A.D. We have, therefore, to admit the existence of an earlier Jayarāma the poetician different from Jayarāma the dialectician.

Besides the above five scholars the signatories of the document seem to include another distinguished Naiyāyika viz. Nārāyaṇatīrtha (No. 47), author of a commentary on the *Kusumāñjali* (Ms. at Sarasvatī Bhavana. Benares) and on the *Dīdhiti* (*Jammu Cat.*, p. 144). But this Naiyāyika Nārāyaṇatīrtha is most probably different from the Mīmāṃsaka of the same name, and lived about 1700 A. D. A Ms. of the *Muktāvalī-prakāśa* dated 1758 V.S. preserved at the Sarasvatī Bhavana (Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika No. 869) belonged to one Nārāyaṇatīrtha Bhikṣu, pupil of Rāmagovindatīrtha, according to a note in the copy. This Nārāyaṇatīrtha was probably the teacher of Gauḍa Brahmānanda, the famous commentator on the *Advaitasiddhi*. He also wrote a learned commentary on the *Bhāṣāpariccheda* named *Tarkaratnākara*, of which a complete Ms., dated 1777 V.S., is preserved in the Vaṅgīya-Sāhitya Pariṣad, Calcutta (Ms. No. 88). A note on the cover of the Ms. "श्रीनारायणतीर्थस्वामिनामिदं पुस्तकं" proves that he was living still in 1720 A.D.

DINESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA

# Rulers of Anhilvāḍa

The city of Anhilvāḍa is of great importance in the mediæval history of Guzarat. It was founded by Vanarāja of the Cāpotkaṭa (Cāwuḍa) dynasty in Saṃvat 802 i.e. A.D. 746 as his capital, and so it continued in the reigns of the Cāpotkaṭa successors of Vanarāja and also of the Solaṅki Cālūkyas and Vaghelas, who succeeded the Cāpotkaṭas. Later the kingdom passed into the hands of the Muslims.

In his excellent book, the *Archaeology of Guzarat*, Dr. H. D. Sankalia gives valuable information regarding Vanarāja and his successors (pp. 35 *et seq*) from various chronicles, inscriptions etc. I am giving here a sixteenth century list of the successors of Vanarāja with the period of reign of each in years, months and days. This has not so far seen the light of day.

It is contained in a Gutko of miscellaneous Sanskrit and Rajasthani works (foll. 74—75). It was written in the reign of Mahārāja Raisinghji (16th century A.D.) and belonged to Rāṭhod Śyāmaladāsa. The dates given here range from Saṃvat 802 i.e. 746 A.D. to Saṃvat 1610 i.e. A.D. 1553.

On a comparison with Dr. Sankalia's *Archaeology of Guzarat*, it will be found that in some cases this record does not agree with the sources known so far. For instance, according to Abul Fazl, the Cāwuḍas ruled for 196 years and according to the other chronicles, for 225 years. Here it is given as 189 years 6 months 19 days. This total given at the beginning, however, does not agree with the total of the eight periods enumerated hereunder. That comes to 246 years 7 months 7 days. So, there is some scribal error in this part of the list. Neither total, however, agrees with those given by other works.

About Solaṅki Mūlarāja Dr. Sankalia says "It is believed that he ruled for about 35 years." According to our work, his reign lasted for 59 years 1 month 24 days. The periods of Karṇa's and Jayasiṃha's reign are roughly known to be about 30 years and 50 years from other sources. Here these are given in an exact manner as 29 years 8 months 12 days and 48 years 8 months 18 days. It may be noted that in our work Cāmuṇḍa is mentioned among the Cāpotkaṭas and not amog the Cālūkyas. Tihuṇapāla (Tejaḥpāla?) is not mentioned as a ruler by Dr. Sankalia. Here he is credited with a rule of 2 years and 12 days.

The list is as follows:—

अथ अणहिलवाडपाटण तथा मारवै पाटणारी नीवरा वरिस ।

संवत ८०२ वर्षे वैशाख शुदि ३ रवौ रोहिणी तत्कालं मृगशिरा नक्षत्रे वृषस्थे चन्द्रे साध्ययोगे गरकरणे सिंहलग्ने मध्याह्नसमये अणहिल्लपुरस्य शिलानिवेशः । तस्यायुर्वद्धवर्षे ५२०० मास ७ दिन ९ घटी ४४ ।

तत्र पूर्वं वणराजस्थितिः वर्ष १८९ मास ६ दिन १९ चाउडा कुलव्यक्तितः ।

1. तत्र पूर्वं स्थितिवर्षं ६५ मास २ दिन १ वृद्धवणराजराज्यम् ।
2. वर्ष १० मास १ दिन १ जोगराजराज्यम् ।
3. वर्षं ३ मास ३ दिन ४ राणादित्यराज्यम् ।
4. वर्षं ११ दिन २ वयरसीहराज्यम् ।
5. वर्षं ३८ मास ३ दिन १७ क्षेमराजराज्यम् ।
6. वर्ष ३४ मास ४ दिन १७ चामुण्डरायराज्यम् ।
7. वर्ष २६ मास १० दिन २० आकडरायराज्यम् ।
8. वर्ष २७ मास ६ दिन ५ रायभूवडराज्यम् ।

एवं छत्राष्टकम् ॥

ततो वर्ष २९९ मास १ दिन २० सोलङ्कीराज्यम् । १२ तेषां व्यक्ति(क्तयः) ।

1. पूर्व वर्ष ५६ मास १ दिन २४ वृद्धमूलरायराज्यम् ।
2. मास ५ दिन २९ वलभराजराज्यम् ।
3. वर्ष १२ दिन ५ दुर्लभराजराज्यम् ।
4. वर्ष ४२ मास १० दिन ९ वृद्धभीमदेवराज्यम् ।
5. वर्ष २९ मास ८ दिन १२ वृद्धकर्णदेवराज्यम् ।
6. वर्षं ४८ मास ८ दिन १८ जयसिहदेवराज्यम् ।

मास २ दिन १२ पाटशून्यम् ।

7. ततो वर्ष ३० मास १ दिन २७ कुमारपालराज्यम् ।
8. वर्ष ३ मास १ दिन २८ अजयपालराज्यम् ।
9. वर्ष २ दिन ४ लघुमूलराजराज्यम् ।
10. वर्ष ६५ मास २ दिन २० लघुभीमदेवराज्यम् ।
11. वर्षं ३ मास ६ लघुजयसिंहदेवः ।
12. वर्ष २ दिन १२ तिहुणपालदेवः ।

एवं द्वादश छत्राणि ॥

तदनु वर्ष ५८ मास ३ दिन ४ वाघेलाच्छत्राणि ४ ।

1. पूर्व वर्ष १६ मास ७ दिन ११ वीसलदेवः ।
2. वर्ष १३ मास ७ दिन २३ अर्जुनदेवः ।
3. वर्ष २० सारङ्गदेवः ।
4. वर्ष ८ कर्णदेवः ।

एवं २४ छत्राणि जातानि । अणहिलपुरशिलानिवेशतदनुगतवर्ष ५४७ मास १ दिन २५ यावत् । ततः संवत १३४६ वर्षे मास ८ दिन २९ छत्र २४ । ततो वर्ष १ मास ४ दिन १० राजा भयत्रस्त रह्यउ* । एवं संवत् १३५१ वर्षे वैशाखमासे शुक्लपक्षे दशम्यां तिथौ गुरुवारे महंमाधवेन म्लेच्छा आनीताः । पूर्वमेते भूपा ढिल्ल्यां जाताः ।

1. संवत् १०४५ वर्षे सु० महंमद वर्ष ६२ राज्यम् ।
2. संवत् ११०७ वर्षे सु० संजरवर्ष १०० राज्यम् ।

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* **Rajasthani word meaning "remained".**

3. सं० १२०७ वर्षे सु० मोजदीन राज्यं वर्ष २९ ।
4. सं० १२४६ वर्षे वृद्धकुतवदीन वर्ष १८ राज्यम् ।
5. सं० १२६४ वर्षे सु० सहावदीन वर्ष २६ राज्यम् ।
6. सं० १२९० वर्षे सु० करमदीन वर्ष १ राज्यम् ।
7. सं० १२९१ वर्षे बीबीजू आवर्ष ३ राज्यम् ।
8. सं० १२९४ वर्षे सु० मोजदीन वर्ष ४ राज्यम् ।
9. सं० १२९८ वर्षे सु० अलावदीन वर्ष २१ राज्यम् ।
10. सं० १३१९ वर्षे सु० वृद्धनसीरदीन राज्यं वर्ष १३ ।
11. सं० १३३२ वर्षे सु० वृद्धग्गासदीनराज्यं वर्ष १२ ।
12. सं० १३४४ वर्षे सु० मोजदीन वर्ष २ राज्यम् ।
13. सं० १३४६ वर्षे सु० समसदन वर्ष १ राज्यम् ।
14. सं० १३४७ वर्षे सु० जलालदीन वर्ष ७ राज्यम् ।

ततो देशे यवना जाताः । पूर्व गूर्जरदेशे दफरखांन आगतः ।

1. सं० १३५४ वर्षे सु० अलावदीन राज्यं वर्ष १९ ।
2. सं० १३७३ सु० कुतवदीन वर्ष ४ राज्यम् ।
3. सं० १३७७ वर्षे सु० शगरू वर्ष १ राज्यम् ।
4. सं० १३७८ वर्षे सु० ग्यासदीन वर्ष ४ राज्यम् ।
5. सं० १३८२ वर्षे सु० महमद वर्ष २५ राज्यम् ।
6. सं० १४०७ वर्षे सु० पेरोज वर्ष ३८ राज्यम् ।
7. सं० १४४५ वर्षे सु० अबूवकर वर्ष १ राज्यम् ।
8. सं० १४४६ वर्षे सु० तुगलक वर्ष १ राज्यम् ।
9. सं० १४४७ वर्षे सु० महमूद वर्ष १ राज्यम् ।

ततो देशे २ यवना जाताः ।

1. सं० १४४८ दफरखांन वर्ष ३ राज्यम् ।
2. सं० १४५१ वर्षे ततारखांन वर्ष ३ राज्यम् ।
3. सं० १४५४ वर्षे सु० अहमद वर्ष ३२ राज्यम् ।
4. सं० १४८६ वर्षे सु० महमद वर्ष २१ राज्यम् ।
5. सं० १५०७ वर्षे सु० कुतवदीन वर्ष ८ राज्यम् ।
6. सं० १५१५ सु० महमूंद वर्ष ५४ राज्यम् ।
7. सं० १५६७ वर्षे मार्ग० सुदि ४. दिने सु० मदाफर वर्ष १५ राज्यम् ।
8. सं० १५८२ वर्षे सु० शिकन्दर राज्यं मास २ दिन २२ ।
9. सं० १५८२ ज्येष्ठवदि ६ शुक्रे सु० महमूंद राज्यं मास २ दिन ११ । तदनु
10. सं० १५८३ वर्षे भाद्र. वा सुदि २ गुरौ सु० वहादरराज्यं वर्ष १० मास ४ । ततो मास २ शून्यम् ।
11. ततः सं० १५९३ व० सु० महमूंद वर्ष १७ राज्यम् ।
12. सं० १६१० वर्षे फाल्गुण सुदि ५ सु० अहमद व० ।

K. MADHAVA KRISHNA SARMA

# Administration of Justice in Aurangzeb's Time

Much has been written on Mughal administration. Very often, however, the authorities available tell us the way the things were supposed to be done. For the reign of Aurangzeb there are ample materials which throw light on how the administration was carried on in practice. The following cases are taken from the Akhabarat (Provincial) of Ajmir of the forty-sixth year of Aurangzeb's reign discovered recently by me at Hyderabad (Deccan). The last ten cases have been selected from the Akhabarat and the Jaipur Record in the library of Sir Jadunath Sarkar.

(i) Widow of Mania *Vs.* Sundar. The widow of Mania laid a complaint against Sundar for the death of her husband. The offender being summoned pleaded guilty. He was kept in prison as the Hindus neither exact retaliation nor accept blood money.

(ii) Son of Chatta *Vs.* Pir Muhammad and others. Sons of Chatta deceased presented a plaint before the Qazi that Pir Muhammad had beaten their father to death in the fort. Pir Muhammad was summoned and he pleaded not guilty. The plaintiffs were called upon to produce eye witnesses of the incident. They produced two such witnesses and proved Pir Muhammad guilty. The Qazi then declared that it was open to the complainants either to ask for Pir Muhammad's execution or demand blood money. They said they would be content if two of his companions were dismissed and turned out of the fort. All the three agreed thereto and were dismissed and expelled from the fort.

(iii) Iftikhar Khan, governor of Ajmir, held court and heard cases. He decided some of them according to the law and made over the rest to the Qazi.

(iv) Gangaram *Vs.* Muhammad Alim. Gangaram of Ajmir sought justice at the hands of the emperor. The Chief Qazi sent the case to the provincial governor for inquiry and report. The inquiry was held by the provincial governor and the report submitted in three instalments. The provincial governor found the complaint baseless and ordered that Gangaram's widowed daughter be sent to the Chief Qazi in order to demonstrate to the latter how baseless complaints were manufactured by some people.

(v) Kaisu and others *Vs.* Man. Kaisu filed a [illegible] Khan's (the governor's) court that Man, the di[illegible] [illegible], had realized land revenue and embezzled the collectio[illegible]. When he was dismissed he destroyed the papers. It was order[illegible] the Amin of [illegible] should hold an inqui[illegible]

(vi) Gori *Vs.* Shahab-ud-Din and others. Dana instituted a case before the Qazi on behalf of Gori that Shahab-ud-Din and Harkishan had beat her husband to death. The Qazi asked for evidence. Two witnesses were produced. After their evidence had been recorded it was discovered that they were not conforming Muslims and therefore their evidence was not admissible. The Vakil said that he had no other evidence to produce. Further inquiry revealed the fact that the deceased died several days after the alleged beating. The suit was dismissed.

(vii) Kanga Patwari *Vs.* thieves. A theft occurred at the house of Kanga Patwari of Badhvara resulting in a loss of Rs. 285. The marks of the thieves' feet were followed up to Nonyavas. Narsingh Das, its thanadar and a mansabdar of 130, declared that he had no knowledge of any thieves in his place.

(viii) Parasram *Vs.* thieves. A theft occurred at the house of Parasram of Raj Nagar. He was an agent of Raj Singh whose watchmen ran after the thieves. Near Nonyavas they killed three thieves and recovered their property.

(ix) The governor held court. Most of the cases were referred to the Qazi. After the inquiry whatever the Qazi said should be paid was ordered by the governor to be paid.

(x) Sayam Ram *Vs.* Kaisri Singh and Jivraj. Sayam Ram of Nagore asserted that six years ago he had agreed to purchase 80,000 maunds of corn from Kaisri Singh and Jivraj, agents of Maharaja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur and paid Rs. 230/- in advance. They neither delivered the corn nor did they pay back the money. Sayam Ram lodged a complaint with the emperor who sent orders first to the fojdars for investigation and then to the governor. Iftikhar Khan sent sawars to Jodhpur for local inquiry. Kaisri Singh and others denied the complaint and sent a certified declaration to that effect. Sayam Ram was then asked if he had any witnesses. He said that he had many at Jodhpur but they would not probably support him out of fear of the opposite party. He was, however, prepared to give up his claim if the opposite party denied his claim on oath. The Qazi ordered that as they denied the plaint, they should be asked to take the oath. The Vakil of Maharaja Jaswant Singh now intervened and said that the Hindus avoided taking oath as far as possible. The calling of those agents to the provincial governor's court was objectionable. The governor submitted this report to the emperor asking for further instructions.

(xi) Kanwal Vijya *Vs.* Pant Vijya and others. Kanwal Vijya lodged a complaint in the emperor's court. Shaikh us-Islam (the Chief Qazi) sent an imperial order to the governor for local investigation. The governor sent the case to the Qazi.

The Qazi summoned both the parties. The defendants denied the claim of the plaintiff who had no witnesses. The Qazi ordered the defendant to state on oath that they owed the plaintiff nothing. They said they were willing to do so. The complainant said he also was willing to take the oath. The Qazi did not allow him to do so, dismissed the suit and reported to the governor.

The governor submitted that as the local investigation had not yielded a satisfactory result, he would, if ordered, send both the parties to the royal court.

(xii) Mohan Singh *Vs.* thieves. Mohan Singh reported that some thieves visited his village and drove away some buffaloes. The villagers followed the thieves and killed two of them. No property was recovered. The heads of the thieves were presented before the governor who ordered these to be exhibited on trees.

(xiii) The case of Anand Chand Shaikhawat of Manoharpur. Anand Chand Shaikhawat was complained against at the royal court. It was said that he tried at first to kill his son and later on killed four persons. Zahad Beg, royal messenger, was sent to the provincial governor to get Anand Chand sent to the royal court.

The governor started investigations. He ordered that the accused be sent to the royal court.

Then came Bishan Das, Vakil of Anand Chand. He submitted on behalf of his master that his son and brother were against him and were thus filing up complaints against him. The governor countermanded his first order and sent to the royal court the necessary depositions taken.

(xiv) Bhoja *Vs.* Gopal and others. Bhoja lodged a complaint that he had paid Gopal Rs. 1000/- in cash and kind. He had previously lodged a complaint when Darah Khan was the Fojdar. Gopal had then accepted the claim to the extent of Rs. 60/- and some tolas of silver. Darah Khan kept this amount with Bhola who was Gopal's surety. Bhoja had then refused to be satisfied with this decree and had lodged a complaint in the governor's court. All the three defendants were absent but Bhola, the surety and the *Suparddar* was present. He denied that he was either. The Qanungo and Mahajans said that he was both. His beard was cropped and he was paraded round the city. He then expressed his willingness to pay Rs. 60/-. Bhoja however declined to receive this amount.

(xv) Widow of Lal Chand *Vs.* Dait Chand, son of Lal Chand. Lal Chand's widow complained against her son for recovery of Rs. 1880. Qazi Abdur Razaq got the case compromised. The widow gave up the claim. The renunciation of her rights attested by the Qazi was sent to the royal court.

Some more cases from the Akhabarat and the Jaipur Records are also reproduced here.

(xvi) On October 25, 1693, it was ordered that when a complainant lodged a complaint at the imperial court he should be supplied with the necessary messengers by the provincial governor.

(xvii) Damodar was in prison along with another thief. They gave surety on July 1, 1694 that if there was a theft in the army, they would be held responsible. They furnished a reliable security and were let off.

(xviii) The Qazi of Muttra complained that the Kotwal of Muttra decided all cases himself. On December 24, 1692 the Qazi was transferred.

(xix) Muhammad Masaud submitted that there were several prisoners in the fort and that permission be given to release them. It was ordered that except the murderer of a faqir, who had confessed his crime, all others be let off.

(xx) On February 14, 1704 it was laid down that the complainant should search for the accused if he be not found.

(xxi) The emperor heard several cases of disputed titles to the land and decided them.

(xxii) On Safar 17 in the year 46 of Aurangzeb's reign, the descendants of Sunder Lal deposed in the court of the governor of Gujarat that Tulsi owed Sundar Lal money. He called the latter to his house and there killed him. Sunder Lal then absconded. The governor ordered his superintendent of court to write to the provincial Qazi asking him to determine the case according to the law. The governor showed his irritation on being thus troubled and added, "are there no Qazis to render justice in the city that you resort to my court."

(xxiii) Mir Ahmed Bakhshi submitted in the royal court (year 46) that Khalif Beg and Ahmed Beg owed a Bania Rs. 100 and that an order be sent to the provincial governor to deduct the sum from their salary so that others be warned. It was ordered that the governor be written accordingly.

(xxiv) Ghulam Muhammad, superintendent of the court presented a complainant on Rabi-us-Sani 13 (year 46) who said that Sayyid Kamal Fojdar had exacted Rs. 10000/- from him by force. The governor ordered that Mir Bakhshi should hold an inquiry and report.

(xxv) Banarsidas of Patan complained to the governor that he started business in partnership with Pir Muhammad Bohra. His partner took forcible possession of Rs. 50000/-. It was ordered that the Fojdar be asked to decide the case according to the law and facts.

(xxv) Tulsidas of Rajputana submitted in the governor's court that Bulbal Das owed him Rs. 4000/- for which he held his written deed. It was ordered that he should go to the Qazi.

# The North-East Frontier Policy of Sir John Lawrence

## (1864-1868)

In dealing with the tribes of the North-East Frontier, the Govt. of India tried all sorts of expedients ranging from coercion to blockade and subsidies. The main object of Sir John Lawrence was to maintain peace on the frontier by subsidizing the tribes. It was not an easy policy to pursue, particularly because the Angami Nagas, the most powerful and turbulent tribes on the Assam frontier, persistently refused to be subsidised and continued their predatory attacks on the territories of British India.

### *Assam Frontier*:

On the Assam frontier, the Govt. of Lord Lawrence had to deal mostly with the Abors, the Garrows and the Angami Nagas.

### A. *The Nagas*:

The Nagas are the most powerful of all the people in the North East Assam. "They inhabit the hill country south of the Brahmaputra valley from the Singphos to the North Cachar hills, and are divided into four big tribal sections, Angami, Sema, Aoh, Lhota and two smaller ones, Rengma and Kacha Nagas. Of these, the first named have proved the most turbulent and warlike."[1] In 1832 the country of the Angami Nagas was visited first by Captain Pemberton and Jenkins and then by Captain Gordon, with the view of opening a communication through it between Munnipore and Assam. The hill tribes offered resistance and were punished by two successive expeditions made from Munnipore.[2] In 1835 the Nagas made inroads on villages in Northern Cachar. This was followed by other serious inroads which necessitated active interference.[3] Mr. Grange, sub-assistant at Nowgong, led two expeditions in 1838-39 and 1839-40.[4] Mr. Grange was only partly successful in coming to an understanding with the tribes.[5] He however submitted to the Govt. of India a useful report giving detailed information about their country.[6] Lt. Bigge, the Principal Assistant at Nowgong, visited their country in 1840-41.[7] While staying at

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[1] L. W. Shakespeare, *History of Upper Assam, Upper Burmah and North-Eastern Frontier*, p. 195.

[2] Letter from Col. Hopkinson to Bengal Govt. dated 14th Sept. 1866; Pol. A. Progs., Dec. 1886; No. 138.

[3] *Ibid.* [4] *Ibid.* [5] *Ibid.* [6] *Ibid.* [7] *Ibid.*

Konomah, he was visited practically by all the chiefs. He entered into engagements with them for the security of the frontier. The Dhunseri river was pointed out as distinct boundary between the British plains and the Naga Hills.[8] Thus a very important step was taken to establish friendly relations with this powerful tribe. Unfortunately in 1842-43 the Govt. of India made the blunder of exacting tribute from them. The Nagas refused to pay the tribute and hostilities commenced.[9] The Naga outrages increased and the British Govt. retaliated by burning their villages and by establishing a military post at Samoogooting.[10] The British Govt. tried to increase its influence and power by interfering with the internal feuds of the tribes. This was soon found to be a wrong policy.[11] The tribes strongly resented British interference and murdered the Darogah, who had been appointed by the British Govt. to put a stop to the internal feuds of the tribes.[12] This led to the war of 1850-51. British troops were withdrawn from their country in March 1851.[13]

Sir John Lawrence was therefore called upon to formulate his policy towards the Angami Nagas. Lord Lawrence realized fully that although punitive expeditions might be a necessity to check outrages temporarily, they could not be made into a permanent feature of the frontier policy. The only safe and true policy was to establish relations of goodwill with the tribes, by subsidising them. The problem of the Assam frontier in general and Angami Nagas in particular engaged the serious attention of the Govt. of India. The following proposals for the frontier defence of Assam were discussed :—

(a) *Subjection of the tribes*:—Col. Haughton, when temporarily holding the office of the Commissioner of Assam, submitted a report dated 4th Jan. 1864 in which he advocated the policy of avowing British sovereignty over the whole of the Naga tribes not included within British Burma or Munnipore, and gradually bringing them to order.[11] The Lt. Governor of Bengal, although inclined to think that the policy advocated was sound and would eventually have to be adopted, was not prepared to recommend that it should be carried out.[15] But after some time when Col. Hopkinson, Commissioner of Assam, submitted his detailed report about the Angami Nagas, the Lt. Governor adopted the suggestion of Col. Haughton that British sovereignty should be extended to the Naga Hills. "In regard to the policy to be pursued towards the Angamee Nagas the

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[8] *Ibid.*
[9] *Ibid.*
[10] *Ibid.*
[11] *Ibid.*
[12] *Ibid.*
[13] *Ibid.*
[14] Letter from Bengal Govt. to Govt. of India dated 13th July 1865; Pol. A. Progs., Aug. 1865; No. 136.
[15] *Ibid.*

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Lt. Governor is clearly of opinion that the abandonment of the position we held previously to 1854 and the withdrawal of our line of frontier posts to the left bank of the Dhunseeree are proved by the events which have since occurred to have been a grave mistake, and that the only course left to us consistent with the duty we owe to the inhabitants of the adjoining frontier districts, as well as to the Angamee Nagas themselves, who are torn by internal feuds for want of a Govt., and unable to exercise any general self-control or to restrain independent action on the part of any village or even of a section of any of the numerous villages inhabited by the tribe, is to re-assert our authority over them and bring them under a system of administration suited to their circumstances and gradually to reclaim them from habits of lawlessness to those of order and civilization.''[16] The Govt. of India did not however sanction this proposal to bring the whole country of the Angamee Nagas at once under the subjection of the British Govt.[17]

(b) *Military posts*:—Brigadier General Tombs tried to tackle the problem of frontier defence from the military point of view only. He expressed his opinion that the valley of Assam was surrounded by a nest of hornets and that the civil authorities had no means at their disposal to punish the tribes for outrages committed in British territory.[18] The Assam frontier was not given adequate military protection; thus there was only one regiment to defend the whole of Upper Assam, while at 'Gowal-parah, in close proximity to the Garrow Hills there was no military force whatever.[19] General Tombs did not think it possible or advisable to attempt to guard the whole of this enormous frontier, but was of opinion that if a well-equipped column of 2,00 men were kept at Deebrooghur and another column of similar strength at Gowhatty, and if for every raid the Booteahs, or the Abors or the Nagas make into British territory, these columns march into theirs and burn and destroy their villages and kill as many of the offending tribe as possible, the British Govt. will soon inspire them with such dread and terror of British power that they would only be too glad to receive subsidies and refrain from predatory attacks in British territories.[20] The Govt. of India did not concur in the view taken by Brigadier-General Tombs of the dangerous character of the Assam Frontier.[21] The tribes were wretchedly armed and they were in no way dangerous in the sense in which the Muhammadan tribes on the Punjab Frontier are dangerous.[22] Hence the Govt. of India turned down the proposal of General Tombs for increasing the military strength on the Assam Frontier.[23] The military authorities had in fact nothing better to propose than the establishment of military posts. Thus Major General Tytler's remedy against the Abors was a regiment at Suddya and a steam gunboat and he would provide for the defence of North Cachar by a cantonment on the right bank of the Dhunseeree.[24] Col. Hopkinson, Commissioner of Assam, subjected this proposal to scathing criticism: "A better disposition of his troops could not be conceived perhaps, but it would be useless as a protection against the incursions of Nagas or Abors; there would be nothing, for instance, in such a disposition to prevent the Abors reacting the tragedy of 1861 at Rungagora and getting back to their native hills before intelligence of the event reached Suddya. A military outpost in Assam is a protection against the hill tribes as an unbrella is against rain, but no more or at most it exercises the moral influence of a scare crow, sure to be found out at least to be harmless.[25]" Col. Hopkinson, in his interesting Report about the Angamee Nagas, urged strong and weighty objections against the policy of establishing military outposts. He remarks:—"What about the establishment of chains of military outposts along the frontier? Military posts would just protect the ground they stood on and not always that and I speak from experience when I say that their maintenance would simply constitute an aggravation of the miseries of the people of the villages near which they were located, while it would be enormously expensive to the state.[26]

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[16] Letter from Bengal Govt. to Govt. of India dated 24th April 1866; Pol. A Progs., June 13866; No. 37.

[17] Letter from Govt. of India to Bengal Govt. dated 7th June 1866; Pol. A Progs; June 1866; No. 39.

[18] Letter from Brigadier General Tombs to the Adjutant General dated 24th April 1865; Pol. A. Progs., Aug. 1865; No. 136.

[19] *Ibid.*

[20] *Ibid.*

(c) *Blockade*:—Col. Hopkinson, Commissioner of Assam, strongly advocated the adoption of the blockade system. He remarks:—Short of a more comprehensive policy, experience tends to show that, however practicable, closing their avenues of trade is the most effectual instrument we can employ against most of the hill tribes.[27] The Govt. of India however objected to the blockade system in general as it punished the innocent with the guilty.[28] "The policy of excluding whole tribes from friendly intercourse and trade with our villages on account of the misconduct of a few individuals is one which has been condemned on very sufficient grounds as defeating its own purpose."[29]

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[21] Letter from Govt. of India to Bengal Govt. dated 25th May 1865; Pol. A. Progs., Aug. 1865; No. 136.

[22] *Ibid.*

[23] *Ibid.*

[24] Letter from Col. Hopkinson to Bengal Govt. dated 4th Nov. 1865; Pol. A. Progs., June 1866; No. 38.

[25] *Ibid.*

[26] Letter from Col. Hopkinson to Bengal Govt. dated 30th Oct. 1865; Pol. A. Progs., June 1866; No. 38.

[27] Letter from Col. Hopkinson to Bengal Govt. dated 5th May 1865; Pol. A. Progs., Aug. 1865; No. 136.

(d) *Subsidies*:—The Bengal Govt. in its letters dated 23rd September 1862 and 30th July 1863 had instructed the Commissioner of Assam to carry out the policy of subsidising the Angami Nagas as had been done in the case of the Garrows and the Abors.[30] Col. Hopkinson, the Commissioner of Assam reported that neither Lt. Gregory (Assistant Commissioner, North Cachar) nor Lt. Clarke, his immediate predecessor, had succeeded in subsidizing the Nagas and taking written agreements from them to provide their own police to maintain peace among themselves and towards British subjects.[31] Col. Hopkinson doubted the success of the policy of subsidizing the tribes. He remarked:—"There has not been time to ascertain what the Garrows think of their written agreements, but the Abors eat theirs, and evidently look upon the transaction as a mere payment of 'blackmail' and despise us infinitely for paying it."[32] Col. Hopkinson even went to the length of suggesting "the expediency of withdrawing, if we cannot afford to administer North Cachar more thoroughly and efficiently than we are now doing."[33] These views of the Commissioner of Assam were so decidedly against the policy of the Govt. of India that the Bengal Govt. took him to task for neglecting to carry out the policy of subsidizing the Nagas, laid down by the Govt. of India.[34] The Govt. energetically defended the policy of subsidizing the frontier tribes. "The Lt. Governor cannot concur with you as to the failure of the policy under which the Govt. pays the frontier tribes for the maintenance of a Frontier Police. There is nothing in the Reports received which show that it has failed either with the Abors, Garrows, or Kookies, and we have had peaceable frontier, as far as these tribes are concerned, since the system was introduced.[35] The Lt. Governor informed the Commissioner of Assam that the proposal to recede before these tribes and fall back from their neighbourhood could not be entertained.[36] The Lt. Governor therefore again insisted on the adoption of the policy of subsidizing the friendly Naga villages on the frontier by moderate annual payment in money or articles prized by the Nagas on condition of their good conduct and of their affording help in preventing outrages and arresting offenders.[37] In his valuable Report on the Angamee Nagas, Col. Hopkinson pointed out the difficulties of subsidizing the Nagas—"No payments or subsidies of any kind have ever been made to the Nagas. Under existing circumstances any expenditure of the kind would fail in purchasing the peace of the frontier. At present our communications with even the few villages we are in correspondence with is conducted through the chiefs or headmen. There is no guarantee that any engagement made by them would be ratified by their clans over which they have as little social or political power as a Captain of volunteers over his company off parade. Even if ratified by the majority of the general assembly of the people, engagements would not be binding on the minority, for every individual of the clan is independent and responsible only to himself for his actions. They would undoubtedly, for the present gain, promise readily anything we might ask them, but as heretofore they would as readily break their promises. Under such circumstances any expenditure in this quarter for the objects with which we have subsidized the Abors would be money thrown away.[38]

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[28] *Ibid.*

[29] Letter form Bengal Govt. to Commissioner of Assam dated 1st June 1865; Pol. A. Progs; Aug. 1865; No. 136.

[30] *Ibid.*

[31] Letter from Col. Hopkinson to Bengal Govt. dated 5th May 1865; Pol. A. Progs., Aug. 1865; No. 136.

[32] *Ibid.* [33] *Ibid.* [34] *Ibid.*

[35] Letter from Bengal Govt. to Commissioner of Assam dated 1st June 1865; Pol. A. Progs; Aug. 1865; No. 136.

However notwithstanding the difficulties of subsidizing the Nagas, Col. Hopkinson was in favour of utilizing them occasionally; if any British officer came to be hereafter located in the Naga Hills, he would regard subsidies as an instrument which on occasions he might usefully employ.[39]

(e) *Location of a British Officer in the Naga Hills*:—The plan mostly favoured for establishing good relations with the Nagas was the location of a British Officer in the Naga Hills. The scheme had been suggested by Col, Haughton. In brief outline Col. Haughton's scheme was that he would depute a specially qualified officer with a force of not less than 200 men and effect a permanent lodgment in the country, at a point most convenient for keeping open communications and procuring supplies. The Officer would then invite the chiefs to submit, those who agreed, would as a token of submission pay an annual tribute and in return receive British aid and protection, while those who refused would be told that the British Govt.

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[36] *Ibid.* [37] *Ibid.*

[38] Letter from Col. Hopkinson to Bengal Govt. dated 30th Oct. 1865; Pol. A. Progs., June 1866; No. 38.

[39] *Ibid.*

would leave them to themselves so long as they kept the peace.[40] Col. Hopkinson elaborated the scheme still further. He made the following suggestions:—He would instruct Lt. Gregory, the Assistant Commissioner in charge of Assaloo, to proceed to Samoogooting, where he would make arrangements for building a stockade for overawing the tribes and at the same time affording ample opportunity of ascertaining their feelings towards the Br. Govt. generally and of introducing the system of subsidies so much desired by Govt., not perhaps by annual payments in money or articles, but by a judicious expenditure of money presents in return for services rendered or tangible expression of goodwill.[41] Gregory would also endeavour to open trade with the plains by the establishment of a hat either at Dheemapore or Samoogooting.[42] The scheme was energetically supported by the Bengal Govt.[43] and was sanctioned by the Govt. of India.[44] The Govt. of India issued the following instructions for the guidance of Lt. Gregory—"Gregory may take up the proposed position at Samoogooting and do his best by tact and good management, supported by a moderate display of physical force, to bring that portion of the hill tract adjacent to the plains into order. He will remember that our main object in having any dealings with the hill people is to protect the lowlands from their incursions. Instead therefore of exerting himself to extend our rule into the interior, he will rather refrain from such a course. Subject to this general principle, his line of action may advantageously be left in great measure to his own good judgment. A conciliatory demeanour will, of course, be indispensable, and perhaps the expenditure of a little money to leading men will be useful. When conciliation fails, punitive measures will not be shrunk from. In some instances a blockade of the passes, so as to exclude the offending tribe or village from our bazaars, may be attended with good results. But in all cases the great point will be to select a penalty suitable to the circumstances of the particular affair. Where roads are necessary, they must be constructed in a simple and inexpensive manner, just sufficient for the opening of the country to the extent actually required. Should the plan thus sketched succeed and the hillmen be gradually reclaimed to our rule, and civilised without much cost to the British Treasury in the process, it will be a good work well accomplished. But His Excellency-in-Council cannot admit that we are bound to attempt more in their behalf than the resources of the empire can reasonably afford.”[45]

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[40] *Ibid.* [41] *Ibid.* [42] *Ibid.*

[43] Letter from Bengal Govt. of India dated 24th April 1866; Pol. A. Progs., June 1866; No. 37.

[44] Letter from Govt. of India to Bengal Govt. dated 7th June 1866; Pol. A. Progs; June 1866; No. 39.

## B. *The Abors*

Out of a large number of wild tribes on the Assam frontier the two most formidable and warlike are the Nagas and the Abors. The Abors occupy the mountainous region between the Dehang and the Dibong rivers, and next to the Naga tribes on the south sides of the Brahmaputra valley are the most formidable and physically superior to their neighbours.[46] The character of the country is most difficult entirely mountainecus and forest-clad, with the rivers running for miles through rocky gorges, and unnavigable above Pasighat. Communications are only by means of the roughest tracks from village to village, and the rainfall in this region is exceedingly heavy, the only open months for work being October to the end of March.”[47] The physical nature of the country made it almost impossible for the British Govt. to conduct successful punitive expeditions for outrages committed by the Abors on British territory. Thus the three punitive expeditions organised against the Abors in 1848, 1858 and 1859 met with complete failure.[48] Hence in 1862 the Govt. of India determined to try the experiment of ‘conciliatory policy’. Treaties were made in 1862-63 with the Abors who agreed to respect the border in return for a subsidy, which consisted of the following articles:—Salt 60 maunds; Iron hoes 120; Rum 100 bottles; Tobacco 3 maunds; Opium 2 seers.[49] Some trouble was experienced in carrying out this policy in 1865 when at the annual meeting of the Abors held by Captain Comber, Deputy Commissioner of Luckimpore, the Membo tribes evinced a spirit of hostility and tried to persuade the tribes to attack Suddea but trouble was averted by the interference of some of the older and more influential chiefs.[50] Col. Hopkinson, Commissioner of Assam, who did not have much faith in the conciliatory policy exploited this incident to condemn the policy of subsidies. “It appears to me that it would be easier to defend our present policy towards the Abor tribes if we were to cease to call it a ‘Conciliatory Policy’ and instead to let it be known for what it really is viz. a system of ‘Black Mail’ which may be stigmatized as undignified, or even pusillanimous for us to adopt, but which would

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[45] *Ibid.*

[46] L. W. Shakespeare, *History of Upper Assam, Upper Burmah and North-Eastern Frontier*, p. 109.

[47] *Ibid.*, p. 111.

[49] Pol. A Progs ..June 1866; No. 52.

[48] *Ibid.*, pp. 113-114.

[50] Letter from Captain Comber to Col. Hopkinson dated 22nd April 1865; Pol. A. Progs; July 1865; No. 80.

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be recommended by its expediency as being efficacious in keeping the Abors quiet so long as they were mastered by their cupidity, and their demands did not reach a higher limit than we could afford to gratify rather than provoke their hostility.[51] He urged that the attention of the military authorities be directed to the investigation of the conditions under which campaigns against the hill tribes of this frontier may be most successfully prosecuted.[52] "By all means I would say let the payment of 'Black Mail' be continued so long as it secures the peace of the frontier. What would be a very large and very ample sum to expend in 'Black Mail' would go but a little way towards defraying the expenses of a military expedition on a very small scale ; but gold has never yet prevailed in the long run where there was not iron in reserve to support it, and on this frontier an appeal to the sword is a contingency for which we must ever be prepared."[53] Col. Hopkinson's opinions were not however shared either by the Bengal Govt. or the Govt. of India. In fact the Bengal Govt. discussed at length the merits of the conciliatory policy. "In the opinion of the Lt. Governor there is nothing whatever to show that the conciliatory policy which has been adopted towards the Abors has failed. There has not indeed been time to form any certain conclusion whether it will succeed or not; but so far as experience goes, there seems every promise of a favourable result. It is not to be expected that these tribes, who have so long been hostile to us, and have incessantly kept up a system of predatory attacks upon our frontier, will suddenly concieve, or even profess, a confiding and firm friendship for our officers. It is of the very nature of the policy adopted that it would require time to enable it to bear fruit, but in the meantime it has so far succeeded, that since its adoption our frontier has been free from depredations, after all, is the main point to be kept in view."[54] The Lt. Governor took strong objection to the conciliatory policy being dubbed as 'Black Mail'. "The essential difference between 'Black Mail' and the annual allowances paid to the Abors is this: That in the one case the forbearance of the savage tribe is made by them conditional on payment of the stipulated allowance, and in the other the payment of the allowance is made by us conditional on the good conduct of the tribe. The one is initiated in an aggresive spirit, the other in a spirit of conciliation."[55] The Lt. Governor pointed out that in the 18th century the punitive expeditions organised against the aborigines of the Rajmahal Hills had ended in failure, but when the policy of subsidies was tried, it was entirely successful.[56] The Lt. Governor not only energetically defended the policy of subsidies but also laid down general principles of frontier policy. "What is of the utmost importance in dealing with uncivilized tribes is patience. No one supposes that their civilization is to be effected in a few years and no one expects that in endeavouring to conciliate them, the Govt. will not meet with occasional disappointment ; but the policy is none-the-less on this account sound and intelligible."[57] Sir John Lawrence approved the views of the Lt. Governor that every effort should be made to conciliate the Abor tribes and secure an influence over them by the exercise of much patience, tact and sound judgment.[58] However care must be taken to avoid the impression that the subsidies will be increased in proportion to the threatening attitude of the tribes or that even the subsidies will be secured otherwise than by good behaviour on their part.[59] But while approving the views of the Lt. Governor, Lord Lawrence took care to sound a note of warning. "It must never be forgotten that, while the Govt. of India acquiesces in the use of all such means of maintaining security on the border, these can only prove effective if combined with arrangements calculated at once to overawe and restrain these tribes from attacking our subjects. The better prepared we are in this respect, the further will our pacific policy be removed from the chance of being misunderstood." [60] The Govt. of India therefore instructed the Commissioner of Assam to propose, in communication with the military authorities, a complete and effective system for the security of the frontier.[61] It is out of the question to attempt the occupation of the Abor Hills. But a system in the main defensive, but which as occasion might require could be rapidly changed into one of offensive operation, seems to His Excellency-in-Council to be what the circumstances of the case suggest as most suitable. Our object should be, not to extend the frontier, but to consolidate the portion of territory already in our possession and to secure its good administration. If at any time it may be found necessary to advance into the hills beyond our border as a punitive measure, our troops should remain so long as is necessary for the attainment of this object, and no longer."[62]

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[51] Letter from Col. Hopkinson to Bengal Govt. dated 9th May 1865; Pol. A. Progs., July 1865; No. 80.

[53] *Ibid.*

[52] *Ibid.*

[54] Letter from Bengal Govt. to Commissioner of Assam dated 10th June 1865; Pol. A. Progs; July 1865; No. 80.

[55] *Ibid.*

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[56] *Ibid.*

[57] *Ibid.*

[58] Letter from the Govt. of India to Bengal Govt. dated 14th July 1865; Pol. A. Progs., July 1865; No. 82.

[59] *Ibid.*

[60] *Ibid.*

[61] *Ibid.*

[62] *Ibid.*

## *Chittagong and Arracan Frontier*

There were a number of tribes on the Chittagong and Arracan frontier—the Khyengs, Koomees, Kamees, Khonds and Shendoos.[63] They lived in a state of constant warfare. "The reason for the existence of tribes virtually independent at our doors, is partly the physical difficulty of travelling in the hilly country inhabited by these tribes and partly the unhealthiness of the country for all races except the hill people themselves."[64] Col. A. P. Phayre, Commissioner of British Burma considered the presence of a British Officer in the midst of these tribes as absolutely necessary since without that they could not be controlled and the British Govt. could not acquire that knowledge of their interior condition which was essential for curbing their predatory habits.[65] An attempt was made to open up communications in the beginning of 1865, when an invitation was sent to them to come to a village within British boundary to hold a conference with British officers. The effort failed[66] In January 1866 another attempt was made and on that occasion Ayloung the son of a chief whose village was about six day's journey from British practicable boundary, undertook to escort Lt. Munro, Superintendent of Police, Chittagong District on a friendly visit to his father.[67] On the third day of thier journey they met a large party of northern Shindoos who were going to attack the Khoon tribe.[68] After some parleying the friendly Shindoos under Ayloung disappeared into the jungle leaving the British party alone.[69] The British party, lost their way in the jungle and returned after three day's hardship in the jungle.[70] This journey has been graphically descrided by Lt. Col. Thomas H. Lewin in his interesting book *A Fly On The Wheel.*[71]

The Secretary of State for India approved the North-East Frontier policy of the Govt. of India thus:—"Experience appears conclusively to have shown that measures of retaliation, whether adopted alone or in combination with a system of subsidies, are not, in this instance, to be depended on for the protection of the plain country, while they certainly fail to reclaim from a state of savagery the tribes on which they are brought to bear and Her Majesty's Govt. rejoice to learn that an attempt is now to be made to conciliate these wild and hitherto hostile tribes. They would be happy to find that a policy which has been crowned with such signal success in other parts of India will prove in the end, not less of service on the frontiers of Assam and Arracan. In providing for the defence of the Assam frontier, it is desirable to limit the cost of your operations as closely as the object you have in view will permit. Your Excellency has therefore rightly referred in terms of disapprobations to various passages in the letter of the Secretary of the Bengal Govt., "indicating a desire to bring the whole country of the Angami Nagas at once under the subjection of the British Govt."[72] The Secretary of State approved the arrangements proposed for locating British Officers among the Nagas of Assam and the Shindoos of Arracan.[73] Thus Sir John Lawrence must be given the credit for initiating a conciliatory policy towards the powerful frontier tribes of Assam and Arracan. In his Minute dated 23rd Apl. 1867 Sir Cecil Beadon, Lt. Governor of Bengal reviewed the British relations with the frontier tribes of Assam and Arracan.' "The object of British policy has been to substitute for a system of exclusion and retaliation, under which the tribe were kept in a constant state of exclusion and chronic hostility, a more conciliatary policy whereby the chief of each tribe has been induced to enter into agreements for the preservation of the peace in the frontier, in consideration of an annual Police allowance. Wherever this policy has been carried out, it has been completely successful."[74] Thus the first engagement with the Abors was made in 1862, by which the Meyong Abors recognized the sovereignty of of the British Govt. up to the foot of their hills, and agreed to abstain from hostile attacks on British subjects.[75] The British Govt. agreed to give a small sum of money to the chiefs, on condition of their keeping the peace of frontier, preventing the people from committing outrages and giving up offenders.[76] A similar agreement was subsequently entered into with the other Abor tribes (Kabong, Membo etc.) and these engagements were faithfully followed.[77] The twelve Bor Abor tribes who for some time declined to enter into any engagement and held aloof, attended on the last occasion of the Deputy Commissioner holding his annual meeting with these tribes in 1866 and entered into similar engagements.[78] The policy was entirely successful since no Abor outrage on British territorry was committed.[79]

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[63] Letter from Col. Phayro to Govt. of India dated 21st May 1866; Pol. A. Progs., July 1866; Nor 124.

[64] *Ibid.*

[65] *Ibid.*

[66] Lettor from Captain Duncan to Chiof Commissionor of British Burma dated 28th Fob. 1866; Pol. A. Progs., July 1866; No. 124.

[67] *Ibid.*

[68] *Ibid.*

[69] *Ibid.*

[70] *Ibid.*

[71] Lt. Colonel Thomas H. Lewin, *A Fly on the Wheel*, Chaptor VIII.

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[72] Despatch from Secretary of State for India to Govt. of India dated 31st Jan. 1867; Home Dept.; Judicial Progs., March 1867; No. 44.

[73] *Ibid.*

[74] Minute by Sir Cecil Beadon dated 23rd April 1867; Home Dept; Police Progs., Aug. 1867; No. 101 A.

[75] *Ibid.*

[77] *Ibid.*

[76] *Ibid.*

[78] *Ibid.*

[79] *Ibid.*

In the case of the Angamee Nagas, owing to the absence of responsible chiefs, no such arrangement was possible, it was determined to place their country under the administration of a British officer, and a similar course was pursued in respect to the Garrows.[80] The Cossyahs of the Jynteah hills, who rebelled in 1860 and 1862 had been throughly subdued and pacified.[81] The only tribe of any consequence in immediate neighbourhood of British territory, with whom some sort of relations had not been established, was that of the Mulkattah Mishmees, on the extreme North-east frontier beyond the outpost of Suddya.[82] They made a raid upon a British Kamptee village, but were driven back. Endeavours were being made to induce this tribe to enter into engagements.[83]

Dharam Pal

[80] *Ibid.* [81] *Ibid.* [82] *Ibid.* [83] *Ibid.*

# The Nirukta and the Theory of Transmigration[1]

So much has been written concerning the contribution of the *Nirukta* of Yāska to various branches of knowledge, that to speak now of the work may, at first sight, seem almost a reiteration of a well-known theme. The many valuable disclosures that this great work of Yāska has to make in the fields of etymology, and philology, of religion and mythology have had sufficient treatment already, and the present paper has no concern with the discussion of any of those topics. My endeavour here is only to evaluate the contribution of the *Nirukta* to our knowledge of the theory of transmigration.

Of the text which is generally accepted to be the *locus classicus* of the doctrine of transmigration, there is a two-fold recension available in the Upaniṣads. The *Bṛ. Up.*[2] gives probably the earlier version of the two, and might have been the source[3] of the more elaborate account given in the *Ch. Up.*[4]

In both the recensions of the text, it is easy to see the existence of two distinct parts giving two different views; in the one which speaks of the "Five Fires" (*pañcāgni*), the burning of the body is compared[5] to the offering of a sacrifice. And just as the libation of the sacrifice goes up to the gods, so also what survives in man after the loss of his body reaches Heaven. This immortal part is 'described after the analogy of the sacrificial fluid as "water" (*āpas*),[6] and later on as "faith" (*śraddhā*).[7] What this figurative expression actually means is probably that "the soul of the work (*karman*) that ascends as the sacrificial vapour (*āpas*) is the faith (*śraddhā*) with which it is offered."[8] This faith (*śraddhā*) travels through the five transitory stations of heaven, atmosphere, earth, man and woman. During this journey, it undergoes a successive transformation into *soma*, rain, food, seed and embryo, and in the end comes into a fresh existence. It thus appears that, according to this theory, the Soul travels only to regain a fresh body, and that, beyond this world, it has no other destination at all. We also read of one long and continuous journey without any break at any intermediate station. It is a non-stop travel that the Soul makes for sometime before it comes back to the place wherefrom it started.

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[1] This paper has been prepared by me as Research Fellow in the Sanskrit Department of the University of Madras.

I have made use of the following abbreviations here:

*Ātman* = *Ātman in Pre-Upaniṣadic Vedic Literature*, Adyar, Library, 1944.

*Nirukta* = *Jāska's Nirukta* sammt den Nighaṇṭavas (herausgegeben und erläutert von Rudolph Roth). Gottingen, 1852.

*Bṛ. Up.* = *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*.

*Ch. Up.* = *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*

*Phil. Up.* = *The Philosophy of the Upaniṣads* by Paul Deussen (Translated from the German by A.S. Geden) Edinburgh, 1906.

*RPVU.* = *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upaniṣads* by A. B. Keith (Harvard Oriental Series, vol. 32, 1925).

[2] VI. 2. 9ff. [3] Keith, *RPVU.*, p. 575. [4] V. 4ff.

[5] Commenting on this, Keith (*loc. cit.*) remarks; "The mythical character of the whole is obvious, and reminds us that the new doctrine of action as determining the future life was decidedly disadventageous to the sacrificial priest, and that it was natural to reserve it as a holy mystery." But it is obvious to a student of comparative religion that this explanation of the sacrificial priest of ancient India is no more "mythical" than that of the Christian whose belief in burial makes him liken the inhumation of the body to the planting of the seed in the earth. (cf. Deussen, *Phil. Up.*, p. 333).

The remaining portion of the text gives the other school of opinion concerning the fate of man after death. People are classified into three divisions here, and we are told of three different destinations to them after they die. Those that either know the "Five Fires" or meditate with faith upon *Satya* form a group by themselves, while those that perform philanthropic acts like sacrifice (*yajña*), bounty (*dāna*), and penance (*tapas*) form another. Those that belong to neither of these classes go to make the third group. People belonging to the first of these classes live for ever in the world of Brahma to which they go after death, and never again return to earth, in direct contrast with the tenets of the previous theory according to which *Śraddhā* seems to be primarily responsible for the Soul's return to earth.'[10] These travel by the northward course of the sun, through the way of the gods (*devayānā*) "which leads them to the gods or to the Absolute Brahman; when at death, their body is burnt on the pyre, the Soul enters the flame, then the day, the bright-half of the month, the six months when the sun moves northward,"[11] the world of the Gods, the sun and the lightning fire. "A person consisting of mind (*puruṣo mānasaḥ*) enters these regions of lightning, and conducts the Soul to the world of Brahma (*brahmaloka*) where it stays for ever."[12]

For those of the second variety, there is not at all any permanent destiny. After they die they go to the moon from which they have to return some time or other. They travel by the way of the fathers

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[6] *Bṛ. Up.* VI. 2. 2.

[7] *Ibid.*, VI. 2. 9.

[8] Deussen, *op. cit.*, p. 334.

[9] *Bṛ. Up.* VI, 2. 15-16.

[10] H. G. Narahari, *Ātman*, p. 90.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 91.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 91 n.

*pitṛyāṇa*) ; the Souls of those that travel by this path "first enters the smoke of pyre, then the night, the dark-half of the month, the six months when the sun moves southward, the world of the fathers (*pitṛloka*)"[13] and finally the moon on reaching which they become the food of the gods and are eaten by them, a figurative expression perhaps to denote[14] that their arrival fills up the moon. This state lasts for some time at the end of which the Soul begins its return journey to earth. It first enters Ether, then Wind, Rain and the Earth. At this moment it is turned into food which is eaten and later transmitted into the womb in the form of seed. Rebirth follows and the cycle goes on again and again. It will be seen that, in this theory, unlike the previous, provision is made for some recompense in the other world. Though the Souls do return from the moon, they do not do so immediately after they reach that world. There they stay as long as their deeds permit, and start on their return journey only when their time is up.

About the way by which those of the third variety who do not know either of these two paths travel, we know nothing. All that is given is that they are reborn either as a worm (*kīṭa*), or a locust (*pataṅga*), or as a biting fly (*dandaśūka*).

Beyond a few verbal changes[15] and some other variations[16] which are almost of no consequence, the *Ch. Up.* has little that is worthwhile to add to the account of the doctrine of the "Five Fires" given by the *Bṛ. Up.* The deviations of this Upaniṣad from the *Bṛ. Up.* in describing[17] the doctrine of the "Two Ways" are more significant. There are, of course, even here, a few verbal variations which are of minor value as in the previous case. It may, however, deserve notice that, according to the *Ch. Up..*[18] from the six months when the sum moves northward, the Soul goes to the year, but not to the world of the gods (*devaloka*) and thenceforward as the *Bṛ. Up.* would have. From the year it passes on to the sun, then the moon, "the lightning, and finally, led by a superhuman person (*amānavaḥ puruṣaḥ*), Brahman, never more to return to earth."[19] So also from the world of the fathers (*pitṛloka*) the Soul does not pass directly, according to this Upaniṣad, into the moon, as *Bṛ. Up.* would like us to understand, but instead it has to pass through Ether (*ākāśa*). The absence of the third class of people who go neither by the *Devayāna* nor by the *Pitṛyāṇa* is conspicuous in the *Ch. Up.* But by far the most significant divergence that we see in the *Ch. Up.* as compared with the account in the *Bṛ. Up.* is the distinction that this Upaniṣad posits between the Souls that return from the moon. The quality of birth of the returning Soul depends on the nature of its conduct in the previous existence ; "those of good conduct are reborn as a brahmin, or as a kṣatriya or a vaiśya as the degree of the virtue allows, and those of stinking conduct are reborn as a dog, or a hog, or as an outcast (*caṇḍāla*)."[20]

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[13] H.G. Narahari, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

[14] Keith. *op. cit.*, p. 576.

[15] For *Bṛ. Up. asau vai loko*, we have in the *Ch. Up*, *asau vāva loko*.

[16] Where *Bṛ. Up.* reads for instance, *diśo'ṅgārāḥ*, the *Ch. Up.* has *candramā aṅgārāḥ*.

[17] For a full account according to this Upaniṣad, see H. G Narahari. *op. cit.*, pp. 88ff.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 91.

[19] *Ibid.*

The passage[21] in the Nirukta which speaks of this doctrine runs:

अथ ये हिंसामाश्रित्य विद्यामुत्सृज्य महत्तपस्तेपिरे चिरेण वेदोक्तानि वा कर्माणि कुर्वन्ति ते धूममभिसंभवन्ति धूमाद्रात्रिं रात्रेरपक्षीयमाणपक्षमपक्षीयमाणपक्षाद्दक्षिणायनं दक्षिणायनात्पितृलोकं पितृलोकाच्चन्द्रमसं चन्द्रमसो वायुं वायोर्वृष्टिं वृष्टेरोषधयश्चैतद्भूत्वा तस्य संक्षये पुनरेवेमँल्लोकं प्रतिपद्यते ॥

अथ ये हिंसामुत्सृज्य विद्यामाश्रित्य महत्तपस्तेपिरे ज्ञानोक्तानि वा कर्माणि कुर्वन्ति तेऽर्चिरभिसंभवन्त्यर्चिषोऽहरह्न आपूर्यमाणपक्षमापूर्यमाणपक्षादुदगयनमुदगयनाद् देवलोकं देवलोकादादित्यमादित्याद्वैद्युतं वैद्युतान्मानसं मानसः पुरुषो भूत्वा ब्रह्मलोकमभिसंभवन्ति ते न पुनरावर्तन्ते ॥ शिष्टा दन्दशूका यत इदं न जानन्ति तस्मादिदं वेदितव्यम् ॥

As in the case of the *Bṛ. Up.*, even here, it is clear, three distinct groups of people are made while considering the problem of human fate after death ; and, like it, no knowledge is shown of the distinction made by the *Ch. Up.* among those returning from the moon to take a new birth. All these travellers are of the same kind and share the same fate the moment they reach the earth again.

While these two are the points on which both the Upaniṣad and the Nirukta agree, the differences between the two texts are really far too many. No knowledge is shown in the Nirukta of what is called the "doctrine of the Five Fires," but, at the same time, the view that this doctrine seems, unconsciously at least, to endorse, namely, absence of any recompense in the other world, is not ignored. We are not told in the Nirukta passage of any halt made by the wandering Soul at the moon, for however short a time, while on its way back to earth. From what the passage can say in the matter, it looks as though the Soul does not stop anywhere save at the point wherefrom it started. According to the *Bṛ. Up.*,[22] the Soul, after leaving the moon, passes through Ether (*ākāśa*) before it reaches the Wind (*Vāyu*), but the Nirukta omits this intermediary passage and speaks of the direct entry of the Soul from the moon into the Wind.

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[20] H. G, Narahari, *op. cit.*, p. 92; cf. Socrates who remarks in the *Phaedo* that those who on earth have followed after gluttony and wantonness and drunkenness, without the least thought of avoiding them, would pass after death into asses and animals of that sort, and those following injustice, tyranny and violence into wolves, hawks or kites, while those practising virtues like temperance and justice pass into some gentle and social kind like their own, such as bees or wasps or ants, or back again into the form of man (Jowett, *Dialogues of Plato*, II, 225ff.).

[21] *Pariśiṣṭa*, II; this section cannot originally have formed a genuine part of the Nirukta which formerly should have consisted only of *twelve* chapters. Kātyāyana and Patañjali seem to know of only these portions and no more [Satyavrata Samasrami, Introduction to the *Nirukta* (Bibliotheca Indica). Vol. IV, pp. 38-39]. Sāyaṇa speaks of the *Nirukta* as consisting of twelve chapters: *'samāmnāyah samāmnātah' ity ārabhya 'tasyās tasyās tādbhāvyam anubhavaty auubhavati ity antaiḥ dvādaśabhir adhyāyair yāsko nirmame. Tadapi niruktam ityucyate.'* [Introduction to the Ṛgveda, p. 28 f. (Vaidik Samshodhan Mandal Edn.)]. Skandasvāmin, Maheśvara and Durgā, however, comment on *Pariśiṣṭa* I also. It is any how clear that the character of the two *Pariṣiṣṭas* as interpolations was recognized by Sāyaṇa.

The Nirukta also attempts at no elaborate classification, as the Upaniṣad does, of the people who are to travel by one of the two paths, the *Devayāna* and the *Pitṛyāṇa*. The distinction here is only between painful methods and those that involve no such injury; by the former is understood practices like blind self-mortification or elaborate performance of sacrifices, and, under the latter category, come the practice of meditation and any other intellectual exercise which means no corporal torture. In the actual language of the Nirukta, the former are the people who resort to painful methods (*hiṁsām āśritya*) like practising penance of a kind other than the intellectual (*vidyām utsṛjya mahat tapas tepire*), or observing, for a long time, all those sacrificial rites which the Vedas prescribe; the latter are those who abhor painful methods, whose penance is of an intellectual nature (*vidyām āśritya mahat tapas tepire*), and who perform only such rites as are prescribed by knowledge; the one class travels by the path of smoke and finally returns to earth, while the other moving by the path of light, reach the heaven of Brahma never to return to earth.

The same idea of brevity appears to influence the Nirukta even while speaking about the third class of people who do not travel by any of these two paths. We are told here that they are turned *en masse* into biting flies (*śiṣṭā dandaśūkāḥ*) as against the Upaniṣadic version which makes[23] a three-fold classification even of so base a transformation.

Concerning also the nature of the being who transmigrates, there seems to be a divergence of view between these two texts. In the Upaniṣads we read of the migrating Soul being led from the lightning fire to the world of Brahma by a person who is either superhuman (*amānava*)[24] or spiritual (*mānasa*).[25] The Nirukta accepts no

[22] *Supra*, p. 3.

[23] *Supra*, p. 4.

[24] *Ibid.*

[25] *Ibid.*

such guide, but speaks of a change effected even within the wandering Soul. According to the account given here, the Soul becomes itself a spiritual person (*mānasaḥ puruṣo bhūtvā*),[26] and enters the world of Brahma (*Brahmaloka*).

It is probably the persistence of the same aim which makes the Nirukta speak of the Soul, on its journey in the path of smoke, getting transformed into a herb the moment it leaves rain, and being reborn once this state is over. We do not read here the Upaniṣadic story[27] of the Soul migrating to Earth from the rain to get transformed there into food which is eaten some time, and later emitted as seed into the womb. To consider, however, that brevity is the purpose here would be to take it for granted that the Nirukta endorses the entire elaboration of the Upaniṣad.

There are a few verbal variations in the Nirukta even where it has passages in common with the Upaniṣad, but these are not at all of any significance to our purpose at present.

In many ways then it is possible to look upon the account of the Nirukta concerning the theory of transmigration as an attempt at an adaptation of the text as it is found in the *Bṛ. Up.* The effort of the *Ch. Up.* is no doubt, the first in this direction, but the work of the Nirukta has been more comprehensive and even more complex. It can thus lay claim to be a second and more far-reaching endeavour at a redaction of the Upaniṣadic version; but it is a redaction so unprincipled and jumbled up that there seems to be far more justification in calling it a "corrupt version"[28] of the latter which, from its two divergent portions contradicting each other sometimes, has already the look of a literary hotch-potch rather than of a smooth and connective narrative.

H. G. NARAHARI

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[26] Windisch (*Buddha's Geburt*, p. 73 n.) sees a parallel to this in the account given of the Buddha that, from his mother's womb, he emerged in spiritual (*manomaya*) form, and thus saved her from all injuries (cited by Keith, *op. cit.*, p. 578).

[27] *Supra.*

[28] Keith, *Ibid.*, p. 575.

# Monopoly of Grain during the Bengal and Bihar Famine of 1770*

As early as the month of October, 1769 when Bengal and Bihar began to feel the pinch of hunger owing to the scarcity of grain, the Board (the council at Fort William) asked the Resident at the Darbar at Murshidabad and the supervisor of Bihar, 'to exert their utmost vigilance and attention for preventing monopolies of grain.'[1] But still some Europeans and Indians, both official and non-official, accused the English supervisors and their *gomasthās* of monopolising grain during the famine in contravention of the instructions issued by the Board.[2] But these accusations are of little value as they do not mention the name of a single culprit. Even Mr. Becher, the Resident at the Darbar, and his predecessor, Mr. Sykes, were implicated in the charge. But the charge against these two persons cannot stand a moment's argument. Mr. Sykes had left this country eighteen months before the famine broke out.[3] Mr. Becher's benevolent exertions for the relief of the distressed people were a stumbling block in the way of implicating him in the charge of monopolising rice.

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* *Abbreviations used in this article :—*

*E.R.I.O.* =Extracts from Records in the India Office relating famines in India (1769-1788) by G. Campbell.

Letter from Court =Letter from the Court of Directors.

Letter to Court =Letter to the Court of Directors.

Sc. & Sep. Prog. =Secret and Separate Proceedings (Riza Khan's Trial).

Prog. C.C.R. Mur. =Proceedings of the Controlling Council of Revenue at Murshidabad.

Sc. Prog. =Secret Proceedings.

Prog. C.C. Kasim. =Proceedings of the Committee of Circuit at Kasimbazar.

Teignmouth =Memoir of the life & correspondence of John Lord Teignmouth.

[1] *E.R.I.O.*, vol. II, p. 41—Bengal Pub. Con. 23rd Oct. 1769.

[2] A list of letters and pamphlets dealing with the monopoly of grain is given below :—

- (i) *The Narrative of the life of a gentleman* by G. F. Grand (1808) Calcutta Historical Society's edition (1910)—chapter III (p. 35) supports the view that the famine was mainly due to the monopoly of grain, perhaps by the English gentlemen.
- (ii) Five letters from a free merchant in Bengal to Warren Hastings-denies monopoly of grain by the English gentlemen (letter no. 5, pp. 154-159).
- (iii) *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Sept. 1771 (p. 402), letter by J. C.—Accused the Company's servants, particularly the subordinates of monopolising rice. He wrote, "One of our writers at the Durbar, who was interested therein (monopoly), not esteemed to be worth a thousand rupees last year, has sent down as it is said, £60,000 sterling, to be remitted home this year."
- (iv) Letter from Sir John Shore to his mother, dated April 1,1772 Teignmouth, vol. I, pp. 40,46,47. Shore denies the monopoly of grain by the Company's servants.

The Court of Directors did not take any notice of these charges till Mr. Becher and Muhammad Riza Khan accused the English Gentlemen (i.e. supervisors) and their *Gomasthās* of monopolising grain. Muhammad Riza Khan first wrote about this charge against the '*Gomasthās* belonging to English gentlemen' to Mr. Becher who again in a letter to the Hon'ble the President and Council corroborated what Muhammad Riza Khan had written to him and enclosed the Naib Dewan's letter to him for their persual.[4]

The Court of Directors also suspected, perhaps on the strength of information received from other sources, that the Company's servants or persons under its protection might have been guilty of monpolising 'the chief articles of the support of the poor.' They, therefore, asked the Council at Fort William to hold an enquiry into the subject and transmit them all possible information with respect to a proceeding which may have dishonor'd (their) favour and protection.[5] Copies of the extract of the letter from the Court of Directors were sent to the controlling Councils of Revenue at Murshidabad and at Patna by the Council at Fort William on the 9th December,

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(v) Colonel Pearse's letter to General Pattison, dated the 23rd March, 1772 (*Bengal Past and Present*, vol. II, p. 317). The writer is of opinion that the famine was due to the monopoly of grain by the English Supervisors. He writes "Within every district every man is obliged to offer the produce of his land to the supervisor at his price. Without leave of this tyrant there is not a man who dares to sell, as I know by experience, even to fouls, rice, everything."

(vi) Observations on the state of society among the Asiatic subjects of Great Britain by Charles Grant (1797). He argues against the charge of monopoly brought against the Englishmen (these arguments summarised in Robert Grant's *A sketch of the history of the East India Company*).

(vii) Transactions in India from the commencement of the French War 1756 to the conclusion of the late peace in 1783 etc., anonymous—charges the agents of the Englishmen with monopoly of grain.

[3] Teignmouth, vol. I, pp. 46-47, fn.

[4] Extract of a letter to the Hon'ble the President and Council, from Mr. Becher, January 7, 1770 (This extract is included in Mr. Graham's minute—Sc. & Sept. Prog. 3rd Mar. 1774).

[5] General letter from Court per Lord Mansfield, 10th April, 1770. Prog. C.C.R. Mur., 13th Jany., 1772, vol. IX, p. 35.

1771. They in their turn circulated the copies of the same extract to the supervisors with the request to make the enquiry directed therein and transmit the result to them.[6] The most funny thing of the enquiry was that those who were charged with the crime were finally asked to hold the inquest. The expected reply came that not a single European was guilty of the crime. From the Dacca Factory came the reply, "The European servants of this factory will stand acquitted before their Honourable masters from the least imputation of inhumanity—there were among them none, so low of feeling as to consider their own interest on so distressing an occasion. If there were monopolies they were to feed the avarice of the Hindus, and we much fear, that such care was taken in diffusing their purchase under the heads of so many picars as well (*sic*) render it a difficult task to ascertain who were the real proprietors."[7] From the answers of the Patna, Dacca and Chittagong factories and the Burdwan Residency to the letters written to them in consequence of the Court of Director's orders for an enquiry, the Council at Fort William came to the conclusion that not a single 'European could have taken advantage of the necessities of the inhabitants by dealing to any amount in that article during the continuation of the famine. What methods were practised to enhance its price and to hoard it up must have been by the natives themselves, who too often insensible to the dictates of common humanity, grasp at every opportunity of profiting by these practices, notwithstanding every endeavour for the prevention of it.'[8]

It seemed the Court of Directors were not satisfied with the enquiry held by the Council at Fort William. They expressed their indignation against those Europeans who were engaged in monopolizing grain during the famine. They wrote, "We are led to these reflections by perusing letters of Mr. Becher and Mahomud Rezza Cawn which accuse the Gomasthas of English gentlemen not barely for monopolizing grain but for compelling the ryotts to sell even the seed requisite for the next harvest :[9] it was natural for us to expect upon reading the above advices

[6] Prog. C.C.R. Mur., 13th January, 1772, vol. IX, p. 35.

[7] Sc. Prog., 29th January, 1772 (vol. 21, pp. 49-50) letter to Cartier etc., from J. Harris, T. Law, W. M. Thackery, dated, the 12th January. 1772.

[8] Bengal General letter (Public), 9th March, 1772. *E.R.I.O.*, vol. III, p. 59.

[9] This is a reference to the letter of Mr. Becher to the President and Council, dated, January 7, 1770 wherein he wrote "Complains are frequently made from Purnia, Dinagepore etc., of people forcing them (i.e. the ryots) to sell their grain and expressing their apprehensions of not being able to reserve the seed requisite for the next harvest." In this letter Mr. Becher requested the Council to promulgate an edict prohibiting the Europeans or their Gomasthas from purchasing rice up to the August harvest from Purnia, Dinajpore, Rajshahy etc. This letter is quoted by Mr. Graham in his minute, Sc. & Sep. Prog., 3rd March 1773.

that the strictest enquiry into the names and stations of all persons capable of such transactions, would have been the immediate consequence, and that the most exemplary punishment had been inflicted upon all offenders." The Court of Directors expressed their surprise at the conduct of the Council's not entering 'into any enquiry at all about the matter' when a charge of this nature was made by Mr. Becher and Muhammad Riza Khan. What still seemed strange to them was the rejection by the Council of Mr. Becher's suggestion 'of totally prohibiting all Europeans in their private capacity or their Gomasthās from dealing in rice, during the scarcity of that article.' The Court of Directors suspected that these persons must have been some of those in rank in the Company's service. They therefore enjoined the Council to examine impartially the charge and to punish those who might be found guilty.[10]

A few months later the Court of Directors went to the length of saying that many supervisors and several persons who were members of the Council at Fort William 'at the time of the Despatch of the "Lord Mansfield" in April, 1771 entered into a combination and unduly excercised the power and influence derived from their stations, in order to carry on a monopoly in several articles' including even rice.[11] They particularly mentioned the 'Resident of Hooghly' (*sic*) as being engaged in the monopoly of rice in 1770 and 1771 for which the Governor only reprimanded him. They, therefore, enjoined the Council to make a special enquiry into his conduct.[12]

On receipt of the extract of a general letter from Court of Directors, dated the 28th August, 1771, ordering an enquiry into the alleged monopoly of grain by the Englishmen as well as by the Indians, the Council at Fort William sent copies of it to the Committees of Circuit at Krishnanagar and Kasimbazar. The Committee at Kasimbazar resolved on the 25th July, 1772 to publish an advertisement which ran as follows, "That all persons who may be acquainted with the circumstances above recited (*i.e.* monopoly of grain by the natives as well as by the Europeans during the famine) are hereby required to give information of the same to the President and Committee at the Factory of Cassimbazar, or to the President and Council of Calcutta."[13] On publication of this advertisement complaints regarding the monopoly of rice and oppression of the ryots for revenue were made by the Zamindars and ryotts of Purnia against Debi Singh, Nazim (Diwan) of Purnia. At a meeting of the Committee of Circuit held at Kasimbazar on the 5th August, 1772, it was resolved to summon Raja Devi Singh from Purnia to answer these complaints. After a thorough investigation into these complaints at Purnia, Mr. Ducarel, Collector of Purnia, informed the Committee of Circuit at Kasimbazar that Devi Singh was in no way engaged in the monopoly of rice during the famine. Moreover Mr. Ducarel from his personal knowledge informed, "I was myself here during that calamity but I never did hear either from complaints or reports of the country people that Rajah Devy Sing or his dependants had carried on any trade of grain directly or indirectly and this I am ready to depose on oath when necessary. Further, I know that Rajah Devy Sing did at that time exert himself with the greatest alacrity and assignity (*sic*) in relieving and assisting the poor inhabitants of the town of which they to this day retain the remembrance. More than ten thousand people were fed and kept alive here for 5 months. Four thousand rupees were given by the Foujedar and two thousand rupees by Devy Sing."[14] The Committee of Circuit arrived at Purnia and after a thorough enquiry lasting for six days came to the conclusion, "We have enquired into the complaints which were preferred against Rajah Devy Sing at Kasimbazar but we have not found them to be established in any article except that of the infringement of the Pottah. We beg leave to offer it as our opinion that the chief object and the tendency of the complaints in question was the removal of Devy Sing from office and this having now taken place, the resentment of the people has of course subsided. He was in short become obnoxious to them, and we mean to offer nothing in support of Devy when we say and so we apprehend, will any man prove who is steady and strict in the discharge of his duty over such a set of turbulent litigious reiates (Royts) as those of Purnea."[15] Thus the Committee of Circuit absolved him from the charge of monopoly of rice. But, later on, he was removed from his office because he was not liked by the people for his rigorous exaction of revenues.

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[10] General letter from Court—the 28th August, 1771 (paras 10, 11 and 12).

[11] Despatch of the Court of Directors to Warren Hastings,—18th December 1771—*E.R.I.O.*, vol. IX, p. 146.

[12] Postscript to the above despatch—*Ibid.*

[13] Prog. C. C. Kasim.—25th July, 1772, vol. II, p. 67.

Now came the turn of Muhammad Riza Khan. The Court of Directors in their letter of the 8th August, 1771 per Lapwing charged Riza Khan in this way: "Nothwithstanding we observed that Mahamad Reza Khan has complained of a monopoly of rice being carried on by other persons, we have received information that he himself in the very height of the famine, has been guilty of great oppression, that he has been guilty of stopping the merchants' boats loaded with rice and other provisions intended for the supply of Muxadabad and forcibly compelled the owners to sell their rice to him at a price so cheap as from 25 to 30 seer per rupee and resold it afterwards at the rate of

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[14] *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 150—24th August, 1772, letter from Ducarel to the Committee of Circuit at Kasimbazar, dated, the 15th August, 1772.

[15] *Ibid.*, vol. II, the 9th February 1773, p. 165-166.

3 or 4 seers per rupee and all other eatables in proportion. and altho. it is affirmed this conduct of Mahamed Reza Cawn has operated in the destruction of many thousands of people, yet it has been over-looked by those in power; who ought to have prevented him from acting in a manner so inhuman and so very unworthy of the station which he fills as Naib dewan of the province of Bengal."[16] It seems, the Court of Directors obtained this information from a letter written by Huzzaramul (Hazari Mal), brother-in-law of Umichand, to Robert Gregory.[17] They advised Warren Hastings to make good use of any other information he might obtain from Huzzaramul.

In consequence of orders received from the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, Warren Hastings instructed Mr. Middleton, Resident at Murshidabad, to arrest Muhammad Riza Khan and Raja Amrit Singh, his Diwan, and to send them to Calcutta. On the 27th April, 1772 Mr. Middleton deputed Mr. Anderson, one of his assistants, to arrest them and it was done without any commotion in the city.[18] Guards were stationed on the person of Muhammad Riza Khan and his family. The reason for doing this 'was to destroy his influence in the country and to encourage persons who had accusations against him to stand forth and prefer them, by testifying to them that they might do so, unawed by any apprehensions from the effects of his power, or his resentment.' When the objects for which Muhammad Riza Khan and his family were confined was attained, the guards were withdrawn after they had done their duty for long fourteen months, but still Muhammad Riza Khan was not permitted to leave Calcutta until the enquiry was over.[19]

Five charges were brought against Muhammad Riza Khan. Of these five charges the first four were based on the Court of Directors' letter of the 28th August, 1771 and the fifth was added at the instance of General Sir Robert Barker. We are here concerned with the first charge viz. the monopoly of grain in the time of famine.[20]

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[16] General Letter from Court, the 28th August 1771, para 18.

[17] Mention has been made of this letter in the Court of Directors' letter to Warren Hastings, 28th August 1771, *Warren Hastings* by Gleig, vol. I, pp. 223-224.

[18] Prog. of the Secret Select Committee 28th April, 1772—(a) Warren Hastings' letter to Mr. Middleton, 24th April, 1772. (b) Mr. Middleton's letter to Warren Hastings, 27th April, 1772. *Selections from the letters, Despatches and other state Papers*, vol. I, pp. 1-2.

[19] Sc. & Sep. Prog.—16th June, 1773.

[20] The wording of the first article of accusation framed by the Board is same as that of the charge framed by the Court of Directors in their letter of the 28th August, 1771 per Lapwing. From the wording of the charge it appears that Md. Riza Khan was accused of oppression in carrying on trade in grain. But the Directors and the members of the Board really tried him for mono-

In the trial of Riza Khan Nand Kumar played a very ignoble part. He acted in the trial as the right-hand man of Warren Hastings who took his help in procuring witness and other necessary evidence. Warren Hastings took his help at the instance of the Court of Directors who wrote to him, "We, however, cannot forbear recommending to you to avail yourself of the intelligence which Nuncomar may be able to give respecting the Naib's administration; and, while the envy which Nuncomar is supposed to bear (towards) this Minister may prompt him to a ready communication of all proceedings which have come to his knowledge."[21] Nand Kumar instigated and suborned persons to give false evidence with a view to establishing the charge brought against Muhammad Riza Khan. Some cases of suborning persons by Nand Kumar were pointed out by Muhammad Riza Khan in the course of trial.[22] Nand Kumar played this ignoble part from the motives of enmity towards Riza Khan and furthering the interest of his son Gurudas. Mr. Vansittart in his judgement observed, "There are some considerations which render me suspicious of them (evidences); I believe Nund Comar to be solicitous to blacken the character of Mohommed Reza Cawn both from the motives of enmity and from an idea that is requisite for the interest of his own family, I believe him to be so little scrupulous as to the means of compassing his views that it could be totally indifferent to him whether effected by truth or by perjury."[23]

In reply to the allegations of the witnesses examined before the Board Muhammad Riza Khan said, "What (grain) was bought at that time was for the use of the Company's troops, and I did not purchase so much as a single grain in order to hoard it up and trade with it. The trouble that was taken to bring in the supplies of corn and send for the merchants from the distant parts had no other design than to promote its cheapness, that (*sic*) the merchants might carry large quantities to the city and sell it at their own free will, from whence the inhabitants would experience relief."[24]

The Board in unanimously acquitting him of the first charge passed the following resolution, "The Board concur in acquitting Md. Reza Cawn of the fact laid to his charge viz. the monopoly of grain in the time of the famine, and the Board unanimously acquit him of any

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polizing grain as it would appear from (i) the resolution of the Board absolving him from this charge. Secret and Separate Prog.—3rd March 1774 (ii) General letter (Secret Department) to the Court of Directors, August 16. 1773 para 12 (quoted by Monckton Jones, *Warren Hastings in Bengal*, p. 193).

[21] *Warren Hastings* by Gleig (vol. I, p. 222). Court of Directors' letter to Warren Hastings, 28th Aug. 1771, para 3.

[22] Muhammad Riza Khan's reply to the allegations of the witnesses examined before the Board, Sc. & Sept. Prog.—26th Nov. 1773.

[23] Sc. & Sep. Prog., 3rd March, 1774, Mr. Vansittart's opinion.

[24] *Ibid.*, 26th November 1773.

criminal intention of the orders which were issued by him for collecting grain during that period (famine)."[25]

That it was improbable for Muhammad Riza Khan to carry on monopoly trade in rice will be evident from the following arguments :—

(i) If he had been monopolizing the rice of the country during the famine, the Resident at the Darbar at Murshidabad and the members of the Board would have known it. Would they have allowed him to carry on that nefarious trade?

(ii) If he had any concern in monopolizing grain it would have been difficult for him to screen the fact from merchants, shop-keepers and numerous purchasers.

(iii) Ghulam Husain, the reputed author of *Siyar-ul-Mutaaḳhḳhirin* was not at all favourably disposed towards Muhammad Riza Khan. He does not mention in his history that Muhammad Riza Khan was in any way connected with the monopoly of rice. He implicated those who were in charge of the charitable distribution of rice and some underlings of Muhammad Riza Khan in the charge of engrossing rice which was brought escorted to the market of Murshidabad. Had Riza Khan been in any way connected with this sort of malpractice Ghulam Husain would not have certainly spared him. The malpractice referred to was introduced by the great historian by way of comparison while he was extolling the good management of relief work at Patna under the supervision of Muhammad Riza Khan.[26]

If Riza Khan was not engaged in monopolizing rice where, then did the genesis of that charge lie? The following facts may throw some light on the origin of the charge :—

(i) Riza Khan was authorized to procure rice for the Company's troops and the supply of the alms-houses which were instituted in the city of Murshidabad. Moreover, he had the charge of receiving and selling 80,000 Mds. of rice imported on the Company's account from Bakherganj. Most accurate accounts of how the rice thus imported was disposed of were kept by the Company. It is quite possible that the public misunderstood the exercise of these public duties for a private trade in grain. The Council at Fort William wrote to the Court of Directors. "The Belief which prevailed in the country of his (Riza Khan's) being concerned in that trade seems in great degree to have taken its rise from the notions of the people, who not having access to better intelligence blended and mistook the duties of Mahommed Reza Cawn's public station in the measures which he pursued for the relief of the city during the height of the famine for the exertion of sordid views to gratify and promote his private interest."[27]

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[25] Sc. & Sep. Prog.—3rd March, 1774.
Of the seven members of the Board present on the 3rd March 1774, six laid their minutes absolving Muhammad Riza Khan of the first charge. It seems the President (Warren Hastsngs) laid his minute on the 24th February, 1774, but no proceedings of the consultation of the 24th February, are to be found in the proceedings volumes, kept in the Imperial Record Department. The original consultation is also missing.

[26] *Siyar-ul-Mutaakhkhirin* (published by R. Cambray), vol. III, Sec. XII, pp. 57.58.

(ii) Another fact might have given rise to suspicion in the mind of the public. Even during the most plentiful years, the city of Murshidabad had to depend upon the supply of rice from the adjacent districts. In the year of famine the city of Murshidabad like all other places suffered extremely from the scarcity of rice and at times it became so serious that the Government apprehended the people might leave the capital of Bengal. Consequently the Government was reduced to the necessity of compelling the merchants to supply the city with food-grain. In pursuance of this policy Riza Khan issued orders prohibiting the exportation of rice unless it was done through a set of merchants, from those districts which supplied rice to the city. The public might have misunderstood those merchants as the agents of Muhammad Riza Khan.

(iii) Muhammad Riza Khan occasionally fixed the price at which the merchants should sell their rice in the markets of Murshidabad. They were also forbidden to sell large quantities of rice without special permit from the Government. This was done with a view to preventing the opulent persons from hoarding rice. To enforce these regulations and to prevent the rice from being scrambled for and plundered the Government officers frequently visited the markets and some oppressions might have been committed by them.[28] This might have led the people to believe that he had monopolized grain.

So far we have discussed the enquiries into the conduct of those persons who were alleged to have any connection with the monopoly of grain. We have seen that in every case the culprit was acquitted of the charge. The famine, it seems, was more due to the failure of crops than to the monopoly of grain by any person. The following arguments may be advanced in favour of my proposition.

First, to carry on monopoly trade in any article in such vast countries as Bengal and Bihar would require numerous monopoly stations and thousands of monopoly-agents throughout the country. Is it credible that such a vast establishment could have existed scattered throughout the country without the knowledge of the Government and with safety when the people became furious for want of food?

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[27] Bengal Letter, August 16, 1773 (para 12) quoted by M. E. Monckton Jones in *Warren Hastings in Bengal* under the heading 'The Inquiry into the conduct of Mohamed Reza Khan' (no. 12, p. 193).

[28] Sc. & Sep. Prog.—3rd March, 1774—(i) Mr. Dacre's opinion and (ii) Mr. Vansittart's opinion.

Secondly, we cannot imagine any moderate number of individuals to have possessed the capital required for the purchase of a huge amount of rice and for maintaining the establishment already referred to.

Thirdly, why did not the high price at the later part of the famine induce the monopolists to bring the engrossed grain into the market for sale?

Fourthly, if the grain remained in the stock of the monopolists even after the famine was over, they must have sold it at a price which did not bring any profit to them. We know that with the reaping of the winter harvest after the famine the price of rice went very low. In that case the monopolists must have incurred a heavy loss. Is it credible that the monopolists were such fools as to incur loss by stocking rice during the famine when price rose high and selling it in the cheap market after the famine? If the grain did not remain in the country, what account is to be given of it? Was it exported? Was it possible for the monopolists to export a vast quantity of rice so as to bring about the famine without the knowledge of the Government? What profit would the exporters make by selling rice in other lands where the price of rice was most probably lower than that in Bengal and Bihar?

The word 'monopoly' was used, it seems to me, by the Government officers and a host of contemporary writers in a wide sense. Any person having a large share in the trade of a particular commodity was marked as a monopolist. Moreover, the term was used in a vague sense. Riza Khan was suspected to be a monopolist. The Board acquitted him of the charge of monopolizing rice during the famine. But a glance at the charge sheet drawn up against him on that count will show that it was not a case of monopoly, at best it was a case of oppression on rice-dealers. The term monopoly was not at that time used in the true sense as we do now.

We have shown that an all-Bengal monopoly in the true sense of the term as the modern economists understand it, could not exist. In the true sense of the term monopoly means the exclusive or a substantial right of a person or an association over the supply of a commodity. But, it is possible that local monopoly in the wide sense of the term which has been explained in the previous paragraph might have existed in some of the districts. If local monopoly at all existed who were, then, responsible for such monopoly? The crime of monopoly may be laid at the door of the English supervisors and their *gomasthās*. In support of this contention the following arguments may be advanced :—

First, many Europeans and Indians, both official and non-official, accused the English Supervisors in general of a monopoly of rice in their respective districts. Among those who accused the supervisors mention may be made of men like Becher, Riza Khan[29] and Warren Hastings.[30]

Secondly, the reluctance of the Council at Fort William to hold a thorough enquiry into the alleged monopoly of grain by the English supervisors, though repeatedly ordered by the Court of Directors, gives rise to doubt in our mind. The Court of Directors specially charged the supervisor of Hughli with the monopoly of rice,[31] but instead of holding an enquiry into his conduct, as was done in the cases of Devi Sing and Riza Khan, the Governor (Mr. Cartier) only reprimanded him. Two reasons may be assigned for the reluctance of the Council to hold any thorough enquiry into the conduct of the supervisors. One is that they were men of high rank and influence in the Company's service.[32] The other is that an unholy alliance might have existed between the supervisors and some members of the Council to carry on monopoly trade. , The Court of Directors suspected that such unholy combination existed, after the famine in the month of April, 1771.[33]

NANI GOPAL CHAUDHURI

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[29] Letter from Becher to the Council, dated, the 7th Jan., 1770 (Included in Mr. Graham's minute--Sc. & Sep. Prog.—3rd Mar. 1774.

[30] Letter from Warren Hastings Colebrooke, dated, the 26th March 1772 (quoted in *Warren Hastings in Bengal*, p. 149).

[31] Postcript to the despatch of the Court of Directors to Warren Hastings—the 18th Dec., 1771—para 11.

[32] General letter from Court, the 28th Aug., 1771—para 11.

[33] Despatch of the Court of Directors to Warren Hastings, the 18th Dec. 1771—*E.R.I.O.*, vol. IX, p. 146.

# MISCELLANY

## Jahangir's Relations with the Sikhs

In his article on "Jahangir's Relations with the Jains" published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, March, 1945, Mr. K. P. Mitra observes, "It has now been agreed among scholars that he (i.e. Jahangir) executed the Sikh Guru Arjun not because he was the head of the Sikh religion but because he acted treasonably in helping Khusrau with money and encouraging him in his rebellious design (e.g. by investing him with the mark of royalty, *Kashqa*) against his imperial father." This statement is obviously based on Sir Jadunath Sarkar's remarks in *History of Aurangzib*, Vol. III, p. 308. According to that eminent scholar, Guru Arjun "merely suffered the customary punishment of a political offender," and the tortures inflicted on him were "the usual punishments of revenue defaulters of those days."

In this connection serious attention should be directed to Jahangir's own account of the incident. He says in *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* (Rogers and Beveridge, Vol. I, p. 72): "In Gobindwal.........there was a Hindu named Arjun, in the garment of sainthood and sanctity, so much so that he had captured many of the simple-hearted of the Hindus, and even of the ignorant and foolish followers of Islam, by his ways and manners, and they had loudly sounded the drum of his holiness. They called him Guru, and from all sides stupid people crowded to worship and manifest complete faith in him. For three or four generations (of spiritual successors) they had kept this shop warm. *Many times it occurred to me to put a stop to this vain affair or to bring him into the assembly of the people of Islam.* At last when Khusrau passed along this road this insignificant fellow proposed to wait upon him. Khusrau happened to halt at the place where he was, and he came out and did homage to him. He behaved to Khusrau in certain special ways, and made on his forehead a finger-mark in saffron, which the Indians.........call *qashqa* and is considered propitious." (Italics ours).

From this passage it is clear that Jahangir had thought of crushing the Sikhs long before Guru Arjun came into contact with Khusrau. The Guru's tragic death is, therefore, a clear instance of religious intolerance, although its immediate occasion was a political offence. Moreover, Jahangir does not say that the Guru 'helped Khusrau with money and encouraged him in his rebellious design'. Sikh tradition affirms that the Guru gave the unfortunate prince five thousand rupees to defray his expenses to Kabul. (Macauliffe, *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. III, p. 85). If this part of the Sikh tradition is accepted as authentic, why should we reject the story of Chandu Shah ?

Anil Chandra Banerjee

## Political Status of the Śākyas of Kapilavastu

Commenting on Hiuen Tsang's description of the ruins of "King Śuddhodana's" palace at Kapilavastu, Watters (*On Yuan Chwang*, II, 3) observes, :—"At the time of Gautama Buddha there was neither a king Suddhodana, nor a palace of his at Kapilavastu. The city was apparently within the territory ruled over by the king of Kosala". Criticising this view, Dr. R. C. Majumdar (*Corporate Life in Ancient India*, 2nd ed., p. 235) says that the Śākyas' description of themselves as living in *āṇāpavattiṭṭhāna* of the Kosala king (*Jāt.* iv. 145), which is Watters' only argument is taken by Oldenberg to mean that the Śākyas owed some honorary dues to the Kosala kingdom. On the other hand, continues Dr. Majumdar, the reference in the same *Jātaka* Preamble (*Ibid.*, p. 152) to a tree standing on the boundary of Viḍūḍabha's realm "clearly proves that the Śākya territory just touched the border, but was outside the jurisdiction of the Kosala kingdom". Supporting the same conclusion on independent grounds, Dr. Benoy Chandra Sen (*Studies in the Jātakas*, p. 27) refers to the *Jātaka* story (iv. 145 ff.) of Pasenadi's asking for the hand of a daughter of the Śākyas. The Kosalans, he says, could not have exercised any real supremacy over the Śākya territory, for "otherwise we cannot explain why Pasenadi thought it proper to send an embassy to the Śākyas like an independent people."

Now, in accordance with the canons of historical interpretation, the late *Jātaka* evidence can only be accepted as authentic if it agrees, or at least is not in conflict, with that of the older canonical texts. Let us, then, examine the testimony of the Pali canon which has been completely ignored by the scholars above-named. In the very old work *Sutta Nipāta* (verse 422) the Buddha, asked by the king Bimbisāra of Magadha about his origin, replies that he belongs to the prosperous Kosala country lying beside the Himalayas.[1] Elsewhere (M. ii. 124) Pasenadi claims the Buddha as his fellow Kosalan.[2] The inclusion of Kapilavastu in the Kosala country is also hinted at in A. i. 276 where we read that the Buddha, while going his rounds among the Kosalans, came once upon a time to Kapilavatthu.[3] More important is the description of the Śākyas' status put into the mouth of the Buddha in *D*. iii. 83. There we are definitely told that the Sakyas are vassals of king Pasenadi of Kosala.[4] Amplifying this description, the Buddha says that the Sakyas rendered to Pasenadi homage and respectful salutation, they rise and do him obeisance and treat him with ceremony.[5]

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[1] *ujuṃ janapado rājā Himavantassa passato*
*dhanaviriyena sampanno Kosalesu niketino.*

[2] *Bhagavā pi Kosalako ahaṃ pi Kosalako.*

While the canonical evidence thus leaves little doubt the dependance of the Śākya territory upon the Kosala kingdom, the testimony of the *Jātakas*, if properly analysed, does not appear to contradict it. The expression *āṇāpavattiṭṭhāna* ('the position of one obeying orders') in the Jātaka passage above quoted is supported by the detailed acts of homage recorded in *D*. iii. 83 and justifying the latter in stating that the Śākyas were vassals (*anuyuttā*) of Kosala. Again, it appears from the *Jātaka* passage referred to above that Pasenadi's object in seeking the hand of a Śākya maiden was to connect himself with the family to which the Master belonged: it was not his aim to ally himself with an independent ruling house.

Summing up the above, we may state that the combined evidence of the canonical and *Jātaka* texts justifies us in holding that the Śākyas formed a vassal state included within the limits of the Kosalan kingdom. We may account for this by referring to the story of the Śākyas' descent from king Okkāka, which is early enough to be mentioned in *D*. i. 92. Again, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the Śākya territory lying on the Himalayan slopes formed from the first an outlying part of the Kosalan kingdom which it is known to have adjoined. It seems, then, that the Śākya State was an offshoot of Kosala, apparently founded by the scions of its ruling house within the original limits of the parent kingdom.

U. N. GHOSHAL

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## A Note on the Bhumara Stone Pillar Inscription of the time of the Imperial Guptas

A pillar in dark-red sandstone, 10½ inches broad, and 7 inches thick, has been found in the village of Bhumara, 9 miles to the north-west of Unchehra, chief town of the small state of Nagod, in

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[3] *ekaṃ samayaṃ Bhagavā Kosalesu cārikaṃ caramāno yena Kapilavatthu tad avasari.*

[4] *Sakyā kho pana rañño Pasenadikosalassa anuyuttā bhavanti.*

[5] *karonti kho Sakyā rañño Pasenadimhi Kosale nipaccakāraṃ abhivādanaṃ paccupaṭṭhānaṃ añjalikammaṃ sāmīcikammaṃ.*

Central India. Its base is rectangular and its upper part is octagonal. It bears an inscription[1] as follows :—

I स्वस्ति महादेवपाद[ा]-
2 नुद्ध्यातो[त]-महाराज-हस्ति-
3 राज्ये ग्रांब्लोदे महाराज-
4 शर्ळनाथ-भोगे इन्दन-
5 नप्ला वासु-ग्रामिक-पुत्त्
6 शिवदासेन वल-य-
7 ष्टि उच्छ्रितः इ......

Mr. Fleet remarks that the expression Vala-yaṣṭi above does not yield any meaning. A letter *ya* seems to have been dropped by the engraver inadvertently, and the expression is to be restored as *valayayaṣṭi* which means a boundary pillar. Accepting this suggestion Mr. R. D. Banerji[2] remarks that the village Bhumara was the dividing line between the kingdoms of the Parivrājaka-Mahārājas and the Ucchakalpa chiefs.

It is not yet known whether there was the system of erecting boundary pillars between two kingdoms in ancient time. If the Bhumara Pillars is a boundary post it was to be set up by a royal officer. Some sacrificial pillars (*yūpa*) have been found at Isapur, a suburb of Mathurā. They are to be assigned to the Kushan period.[3] Pillars of this type of the middle of the 3rd century A.D. have been discovered in the Kotah State.[4] The Bharatpur Pillar inscription[5] records that, in V.S. 428=A.D. 371, on the occasion of the Pauṇḍarika sacrifice, this sacrificial pillar (*yūpa*) has been set up. So in my opinion the expression *Vala-yaṣṭi* in the Bhumara Pillar inscription is an error for *Vali-yaṣṭi* (sacrificial post). That the engraver was careless in putting the initial vowels in this inscription which is to be noticed also in lines 1 and 2. It will follow from this that the sacrificial post was set up at Ambloda, situated in the Bhoga of Śarvanātha, which was again situated in the kingdom of Hastin.

If the above suggestion proves to be true it will have a bearing on the political history of Central India in the first half of the sixth century A.D. The Ucchakalpa chiefs of Baghelkhand are to be regarded as subordinates of the Parivrājaka-Mahārājas of the Ḍāhala country, who were feudatories of the Imperial Guptas. Needless to mention that this will establish that the Ucchakalpa chiefs were also vassals of the Imperial Guptas.

D. C. GANGULY

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[1] *CII.*, 110; *ASI.*, IX, 8.

[2] *Pre-historic, Ancient India etc.*, 193

[3] *ASI.*, 1910-11, p. 40.

[4] *EI.*, XXIII, 42.

[5] *CII.*

## Goddess Piṣṭapurī or Piṣṭapurikādevī,—a Note

The Khoḥ Copper plate inscription of the Mahārāja Samkṣova, of the year 209 in the Gupta era (i.e. A.D. 528-29) mentions a goddess possessing a curious name i.e. "Piṣṭapurī."[1] The object of the said inscription is to "record the grant, by the Mahārāja Samkṣova, at the request of a certain Coḍugomin, of the village of Opāni to a temple" of this particular goddess. Apparently the same goddess, has been mentioned again under the name, "Piṣṭapurikā-devī" in another copperplate inscription from Khoh—namely that of the Mahārāja Sarvanātha, who flourished about the same time.[2] The object of the second inscription is "to record the grant, by the Mahārāja Sarvanātha, of half of the village Dhavaśaṇḍikā on the agreement between him and the grantees, that it should be applied to amongst other things, the purposes of a temple of the goddess Piṣṭapurikādevī."

Fleet has rightly pointed out that Piṣṭapurī or Piṣṭapurikādevī must be "a local name of some more famous and original goddess of Piṣṭapura itself." Piṣṭapura has been mentioned in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta as the capital of a king named Mahendra, who is said to have been conquered by Samudragupta in course of his expedition to the South (Dakṣiṇāpatha).[3] It has also been referred to as having been conquered by Pulakeśin II, the western Cālukya king, in the latter's Aihole inscription.[4] The place has been universally identified with modern Pithāpuram, in the Godāvarī district of the Madras presidency.[5]

Now the custom of looking at a particular deity as being specially attached to some particular place,—as its guiding and protecting divinity, apppears to be fairly old in India. For instance we know that the Indo-Greek prince Eukratides issued some coins, bearing the figure of the city-deity of Kāpiśi, which had the significant legend. "Kaviśiye nagara devatā." Similarly—on an Indo-Scythic coin we come accross the legend "(Pa)khala-vadi-devada" or "the goddess of Puṣkalāvatī." The divinities, in the two above cases, have been justifiably identified with Indra and Lakṣmī, respectively.[6] An exhaustive list of place-names along with the names of the particular Yakṣas, attached to each of them, is supplied to us by the "Mahāmāyūri." Prof. Sylvain Lévi—in an elaborate paper—has given us the text containing the long Catalogue.[7] It is interesting to note that the names of some of the Yakṣas in the list are derived from those of the places to which they are attached—in the same manner as, "Piṣṭapurī" or "Piṣṭapurikādevī" is derived from the place-name Piṣṭapura. Thus for example,—we find "Aṭavī" has for its Yakṣa—"Āṭavaka", "Ārjunāvana," has 'Arjuna,'—Śivapura" has "Śiva," "Indrapura" has "Indra,"—Dārukapura" has "Dāruka," and so on. Another notable instance of a goddess named after her locality is the non-Aryan "Vindhya-vāsinī." mentioned in the *Gauḍavaho* of Vākpatirāja,—whom king Yaśovarman of Kanauj (the hero of the poem) visits in the Vindhya mountains and eulogizes.[8]

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[1] Fleet—*Gupta Inscriptions*, no. 25, p. 114.

[2] *Ibid.*, no. 29, p. 131.

[3] *Ibid.*, no. 1, p. 7 "Paiṣṭapuraka Mahendra..."

[4] *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. VI, p. 6 "Piṣṭaṃ Piṣṭapuraṃ yena..."

[5] Raichaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India*, (4th ed.) p. 453.

[6] Banerjea, *Hindu Iconography*, pp. 163, 280.

From the above instances it is clear that in India, from a very early time—divine and semi-divine beings were specially attached to particular places and very often, the deities so associated—were named after the locality to which they belonged. In the present case, however, two more questions remain to be answered. What was the identity of this enigmatic goddess—Piṣṭapurī or Piṣṭapurikādevī? On this point it is difficult to be sure though Fleet's suggestion that she might be Lakṣmī—is a possible one. Secondly knowing, as we do,—that Piṣṭapura was far outside the realms of the petty feudatory chiefs Samkṣova and Sarvanātha—how can we explain the existence of her shrine—in their dominions? The probable answer to this question is that a body of inhabitants of Piṣṭapura might have immigrated from the south to the territory in Central India—ruled over by these feudatories, and some of them might have started the worship there, of the local goddess of their native place, Piṣṭapura—which received the generous patronage of their new sovereigns. That such immigrations look place in the Gupta age, is amply illustrated by the Mandasore stone inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman, which records the immigration of a whole body of silk-weavers—from Lāṭa in Guzarat to Daśapura modern Mandasor.[9]

Dilip Kumar Biswas

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[7] "Le Catalogue Geographique des Yakṣa dans la Mahāmāyūrī" in the *Journal Asiatique* (1915) pp. 30-58; my attention to this article was kindly drawn by Dr. P. C. Bagchi.

[8] *Gauḍavaho* (S. P. Pandit's edition) ślokas 285-338.

[9] Fleet—*Gupta Inscriptions* no. 18, pp. 81-84.

## The Purāṇas on the Imperial Guptas

The Purāṇas viz., the *Vāyu*, *Viṣṇu*, *Bhāgavat* mention about the rule of the Gupta dynasty. The *Vāyu Purāṇa* relates[1] :

अनु-गङ्गा प्रयागं च साकेतं मागधांस्तथा
एतान जनपदान सर्वान भोच्यन्ते गुप्तवंशजाः

* * *

कोशलंश्च आन्ध्र-पौण्ड्रांश्च ताम्रलिप्तान स-सागरान
चम्पां चैव पुरीं रम्याम् भोच्यन्ते देवरक्षिताः
कलिङ्गा महिषाश्चैव महेन्द्रनिलयाश्च ये
एतान जनपदान सर्वान पालयिष्यति वै गुहः

* * *

तुल्य कालं भविष्यन्ति सर्व ह्येते महीक्षितः

* * *

In other words "kings born of the Gupta race will enjoy all these territories, namely, along the Ganges, Prayāga, Sāketa, and the Magadhas." "The Devarakṣitas will enjoy the Kośalas, Andhras, and Pauṇḍras, the Tāmraliptas and coast-folk and the charming city of Campā. Guha will protect all these territories, namely, Kaliṅgas, Mahiṣas, and the inhabitants of the Mahendra mountains." "All these kings will be contemporaneous" etc.

There are five well preserved manuscripts of the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* in the Dacca University collection. One of them bearing the date Ś. 1388 is the earliest known copy of this Purāṇa. All of them along with Wilson's and Baṅgavāsī editions lay down[2] :

अनुगङ्गं प्रयाग' मगधा गुप्ताश्च मगधान भोच्यन्ति
कोशलोद्र पुण्ड्रा ताम्रलिप्तन समुद्र-तट पुरीश्च देवरक्षितो
रक्षिष्यति इ कलिङ्गं माहिषक माहेन्द्रो भौमान गुहां भोच्यन्ति ।

In some manuscripts of this Purāṇa 'Suhma' has been added to the list of the countries ruled by the Guptas.[3]

The *Bhāgavat Purāṇa* describes[4]—अनुगङ्गमा प्रयागं गुप्तां भोक्ष्यति मेदिनीं ॥ In the fourteenth century Śridharasvāmī comments on this passage as—अनुगङ्गां गङ्गाद्वारमारभ्य प्रयाग पर्यन्तं गुप्तान पालितनू मेदिनीं भिद्यति ॥ i.e. the Guptas will be enjoying the territory from Haridvāra to Prayāga.

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[1] F. E. Pargiter, *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp. 53, 73. Bangavasi edition.

[2] Part IV, p. 292.

[3] *Op. cit.*, Pargiter, p. 54, fn. Krishna Sastri Gurjara's edition, IV, p. 41.

[4] Bombay, and Bangavasi editions The word 'Gupta' is missing in the Burnout's Paris edition.

Thus according to *Vāyu Purāṇa* the Gupta dynasty held sway over Prayāga (Allahabad), Sāketa (Ayodhyā), and Magadha. The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* does not include Sāketa and adds (in some manuscripts) Suhma or West Bengal to the list. The fact that the name 'Suhma' does not apper in all the manuscripts hitherto discovered does not necessarily establish that it is a later interpolation. The *Bhāgavat Purāṇa* on the other hand does not include even Magadha and mentions the source of the Ganges (Haridvāra) and Prayāga as the two extreme points of the Gupta kingdom. Mr. Pargiter accepts the version of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* as correct and concludes that "this is exactly the territory which was possessed at his death by Candragupta I who founded the Gupta dynasty in A.D. 319-20 and reigned till 326 or 330 (or even 335 perhaps), before it was extended by the conquests of his son and successor Samudragupta." "It is hardly credible that, if this account was compiled later, it would have omitted to notice Samudragupta's conquests, or would have mentioned the foregoing kingdoms (which he subdued) in the same terms as his kingdom."[5] Mr. Pargiter is definitely of opinion that the Purāṇas refer to the political condition of India approximately of the period between A.D. 320 and 330. His view has been supported by Mr. J. Allan and many other scholars.

Mr. Pargiter's view may be opposed on two grounds. He has no justification for accepting the report of *Vāyu Purāṇa* in total disregard of the statements made by the *Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavat*. In view of the discrepancies existing between them it will be risky to accept any of them as independent evidence for the reconstruction of the history of the Imperial Guptas. It may be pointed out on the evidence of I-Tsing that Varendrī formed a part of the kingdom of the Guptas ever since the rule of Śrī-Gupta.[6] *Vāyu* does not mention it and *Viṣṇu* only includes Suhma in the Gupta kingdom.

Even if it is assumed that the testimony of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* is unimpeachable it will be difficult to accept Mr. Pargiter's assertion that it represents the political condition of the country on the eve of the rise of Samudragupta. The most authentic record to depict the political condition of the country on the eve of the rise of Samudragupta is the Allahabad Inscription.[7] It is known from this epigraph that at this time Mahendra was ruling in Kosala, Vyāghrarāja in Mahākāntāra, Maṇṭarāja in Kaurāla, Svāmīdatta in Koṭṭura, Mahendragiri in Piṣṭapura, Dāmana in Eraṇḍapalla, Hastivarman in Veṅgi, Ugrasena in Palakha,

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[5] *Op. cit.*, Intro. XII.

[6] Author's *Early Home of the Imperial Guptas*, *IHQ.*, XIV, 332; *History of Bengal*, Dacca University, p. 69.

[7] Fleet, *CII.*

Kubera in Devarāṣṭra, Dhanañjaya in Kusthalapura etc. Hastivarman is known to have belonged to the Sālaṅkāyana dynasty. It is thus clear that during the reign of Candragupta I Kosala, Andhra and Kaliṅga[8] were split up into a number of independent states. This does not agree with the statements of the Purāṇas, which, as has already been noticed, reports that Kośala, Andhra, Tāmralipta, Puṇḍra, Campā were included in the kingdom of the Devarakṣitas, and Kaliṅga was ruled by Guha. It will thus follow that even if the above statements of the Purāṇas are taken to have contained genuine historical facts they cannot in any way be assumed to have referred to the political condition of the country on the eve of the rise of Samudragupta. As a matter of fact no importance should be attached to them until they are corroborated by authentic evidence.

D. C. GANGULY

## Aśvamedhas celebrated by the Kings of Kāmarūpa

I have read with considerable interest Dr. N. K. Bhattasali's paper entitled 'New Light on the History of Assam' in *IHQ.*, March, 1945, pp. 19-28. Unfortunately I cannot agree with some of the suggestions offered by the learned writer. I still believe that the decimal symbol in the date of the Bargaṅgā inscription of Bhūtivarman is not *l*=*30* but s=40, and I do not find any resemblance of it with the damaged symbol for 30 in the first of the Soro grants. The suggestion that by the word *puṣyamitrān* occurring in the Bhitari pillar inscription "we should understand the descendants of Puṣyavarmā of Assam who had so long been *mitras* or friends of the Guptas but had changed into foes" seems to have no grammatical, lexicographic or literary support. That Sylhet and Kachar formed parts of Samataṭa which country passed from the Guptas to the kings of Kāmarūpa has yet to be proved. That Harikela indicated the Chittagong District seems to go against the evidence of such works as the *Kalpadrukośa* (I. 26) which says: श्रीहट्टो हरिकेलिः स्याच्छ्रीहट्टोऽपि क्वचिद्भवेत्। But it is not my intention to discuss in the present note theories like the above in details. Here I shall make a few observations on the text of the epigraph on Bhāskaravarman's seal for the consideration of scholars,

The text of the record seems to run as follows:—

1. श्रीमन्नरकतनयो भगदत्तवज्रदत्तान्वयो महाराजाधिराज श्रीप्राग्ज्योतिषे-
2. न्द्रः पुष्यवर्मा तत्पुत्रो महाराजाधिराजः श्रीसमुद्रवर्मा तस्य तनयो दत्तवत्यां
   समुत्पन्नः

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[8] Eraṇḍapalla and Devarāṣṭra were situated in the ancient Kaliṅga country.

3. महाराजाधिराज श्रीवलवर्मा तेन जातो देव्यां श्रीरत्नवत्यां महाराजाधिरा-
4. ज श्रीकल्याणवर्मा श्रीगन्धर्व्ववत्यां श्रीगणपतिवर्मा श्रीयज्ञवत्यां श्रीमहे-
5. न्द्रवर्मा द्विःतु(द्विस्तु)रगमेधाहर्त्ता श्रीसुव्रतायां श्रीनारायणवर्मा श्रीदे-
6. ववत्यां श्रीभूतिवर्मा श्रीविज्ञानवत्यां श्रीचन्द्रमुखवर्मा श्रीभो-
7. गवत्यां द्विरश्वमेधयाजी श्रीस्थिरवर्मा तेन श्रीनयनशोभायां
8. श्रीसुस्थितवर्मा तेन श्रीध्रुवलक्ष्म्यां (?) श्रीसुप्रतिष्ठित-
9. वर्मा [तस्यानुजो महाराजाधिराज] श्रीभास्करवर्मेति ॥

The first point to note in the above text is the passage **श्रीमन्नरकतनयो भगदत्तवज्रदत्तान्वयो...पुष्यवर्मा ।** The use of the word *tanaya* in the secondary sense of a 'male descendant' in preference to its primary sense of a 'son,' especially in view of the word *anvaya* used in the adjoining expression, is rather peculiar. In the second place, the relation of a king with his predecessor is indicated fully in the cases of Samudravarman, Balavarman and Kalyāṇavarman and imperfectly in those of Susthiravarman, Supratiṣṭhitavarman and possibly also Bhāskaravarman; but the relation of Gaṇapativarman, Mahendravarman, Nārāyaṇavarman, Bhūtivarman, Candramukhavarman and Sthiravarman with their predecessors has not been indicated at all. The third point of interest is that the title *Mahārājādhirāja* is applied only to the names of the first four kings of the list and is absent in regard to those of the remaining rulers with the possible exception of the latest of them. It may be suggested that the absence of the title and of words indicating the relationship of many of the kings with their predecessors is due to want of space. This solution however cannot be regarded as satisfactory, as there could hardly have been any rigid rule about the size of the seal which could have been made a little larger or as the size of the figure of elephant occupying the upper half of the seal's surface could have been made smaller in order to accommodate the whole of the properly worded epigraph. The above features of the record are no doubt suspicious; but it may probably be genuine inspite of them.

Exceptionally strange however seems to be the fact that while two of the kings mentioned have been referred to as performers of the Aśvamedha sacrifice, Bhūtivarman, who is known to have celebrated the Horse-sacrifice according to his own Bargaṅgā inscription, is not called an *aśvamedha-yājin*. To think that Bhūtivarman's Aśvamedha is not indicated possibly because he performed only one whereas each of the two other *aśvamedhins* celebrated two Horse-sacrifices would hardly be quite satisfactory. It may be pointed out in this connection that the epithet *dvir-aśvamedha-yājī* in line 7 admittedly refers to the *following* name of Sthiravarman, and, on the same analogy, the epithet *dvis-turagamedhāhartā* in line 5 should refer not to the *preceding* name of Mahendravarman but to the *following* name of Nārāyaṇavarman. The difference in the position of the queen-mothers' names in the two expressions, श्रीभोगवत्यां द्विरश्वमेघयाजी श्रीस्थिरवर्मा and द्विस्तुरगमेधाहर्त्ता श्रीसुव्रतायां श्रीनारायणवर्मा, does not make any difference in Sanskrit syntax. It therefore seems to me that not Mahendravarman, grandfather of Bhūtivarman, but Nārāyaṇavarman, father of Bhūtivarman, is mentioned in the epigraph on the seal as a performer of two Aśvamedhas. Is it then possible to suggest that the second of the two Horse-sacrifices assigned here to Nārāyaṇavarman was celebrated when that king was too old and his son Bhūtivarman was ruling the country on his father's behalf and that this was the reason why Bhūtivarman is said to be a performer of the Aśvamedha in a record of his own reign? Verse 12 of the Nidhanpur inscription comparing Mahendravarman with *Yajñavidhīnam=āspadam=analam* and his mother Yajñavatī with *Yajñavatī araṇiḥ* does not point to Mahendravarman's performance of the Aśvamedha, as the poet apparently played on the word *Yajña* in the name of the queen-mother and as Mahendravarman may have celebrated some of the numerous Vedic sacrifices other than the Aśvamedha.

Dr. Bhattasali thinks that Mahendravarman, a performer of two Horse-sacrifices according to him, reigned in the period 450-90 A.D. as a contemporary of the Gupta emperors Kumāragupta I, Skandagupta and Budhagupta. It is however more probable that the earliest Aśvamedha was celebrated in Kāmarūpa by Nārāyaṇavarman about the middle of the sixth century when the suzerain power of the Guptas declined. As Bhūtivarman's known date is the Gupta year 244 (563 A.D.), he should be assigned roughly to the third quarter of the sixth century and his father Nārāyaṇavarman (performer of the Aśvamedha) and grandfather Mahendravarman respectively to the second and first quarters of the same century. Puṣyavarman who seems to have been a subordinate ally of Samudragupta and named his son after his overlord should better he assigned to the third quarter of the fourth century and not to 310—30 A.D. as suggested by Dr. Bhattasali.

D. C. SIRCAR

## Saṃvatsarapradīpa

Dr. Hazra's careful analysis of the *Saṃvatsarapradīpa* (*IHQ*.. XXI, pp. 49-55) is a welcome addition to our knowledge of the Dharmasāstra literature of Bengal. Some of his views in this connection require clarification. He surmises (p. 53) that the reference to a 'Dhanañjaya-kṛta-Saṃvatsarapradīpa' in Śrīnātha's

*Durgotsavaviveka* is wrong and due to a confusion of either Śrīnātha himself or a scribe who wrote it in place of 'Dhanañjaya-kṛta-Dharmapradīpa'. The *Dharmapradīpa* is a rare work; it is found cited several times by Śūlapāṇi in his *Prāyaścittaviveka* and once by Raghunandana in the *Suddhitattva*. The name of its author was hitherto unknown. As Dr. Hazra ascribes it categorically to Dhanañjaya he must have come across important evidence on the point, which should be published for the benefit of scholars. A reference to Dhanañjaya's *Saṃvatsarapradīpa* is found in the following passage of Rāyamukuṭa (cf. *IHQ.*, XVII, p. 463).

किञ्च शिवरात्रिं प्रकृत्य—"कुम्भसंस्थे सहस्रांशौ या च कृष्णा चतुर्द्दशी ।
तत्रोपवासः कर्त्तव्यो माघे वापि तिथिक्रमात् ॥ इति ।
लिखित्वा **धनञ्जयकृतसम्वत्सरप्रदीपा**दावेव व्याख्यातं......
(*Smṛtiratnahāra*, fol. 174b-175a)

It cannot be argued that here also there is confusion on the part of Rāyamukuṭa or his scribe. If the *SP.* analysed by Dr. Hazra is a work of Halāyudha on the evidence of Raghunandana, the author of one of the (three?) other works of the same name cited by Rāyamukuṭa may very well be Dhanañjaya on the evidence of Śrīnātha and Rāyamukuṭa, unless Dr. Hazra possesses positive evidence to the contrary. Dr. Hazra states that (Śrīnātha and) Rāyamukuṭa's references to the *Svalpa-SP.* "are not found in the present *SP.*" (p. 55). So, he seems to have attempted to verify the very numerous references of Rāyamukuṭa to the several *SP.*'s in the Dacca Ms. of the *SP.* and we are eager to know the results of such verification, likely to be important.

That the *SP.* was a work of Bengal is found stated in a newly discovered work of Śrikarācārya who should be identified with the father of Śrīnātha. We recently examined a copy of the *Tithikṛtya-vinirṇaya* of Śrikara, at Navadvīpa—a small book of 14 folios with 7 lines to a page. It begins:—

हरिं प्रणम्य मेघाभं पङ्कज्रन्दनिवर्त्तनं ।
कुरुते श्रीकराचार्य्यस्तिथिकृत्यविनिर्णयम् ॥

and ends (fol. 14b) श्रीमत्श्रीकराचार्य्यकृततिथिकृत्यविनिर्णयः समाप्तः ॥

The later authorities cited in it are as follows:—

Jikana (10a), Jimūtavāhana (13a), Nilāmbarācārya (1b), Bhūpala (10a), Bhojadeva author of the *Smṛtimahārṇava* (8b), Madanapārijāta (3, 6a, 14a), Rudradhara (1b), Lakṣmīdhara (2b, 10a), Saṃvatsarapradīpa (8b, 10b). These references seem to prove that Śrikara was a comparatively early writer of the 15th century A.D.; the latest author he cites is Rudradhara. The following interesting passage occurs in it (fol. 8b) :—

यत्तु **गौड़सम्वत्सरप्रदीपादौ** सूर्य्योदयात् प्राग्दशमीयोगे दशमीविद्धोपवासविषयकानि वचनानि उदयानन्तरवेधे तु शुद्धद्वादश्युपवासविषयकानि

कुर्य्यादलाभे संयुक्तां नालाभेपि प्रवेशिनीं ।
उपोष्या द्वादशी तत्र त्रयोदश्यान्तु पारणम् ॥
उदयात् प्राग् दशम्यान्तु शेषः संयोग इष्यते ।
उपरिष्टात् प्रवेशस्तु तस्मात्तां परिवर्ज्जयेत् ॥

इत्यादि **सौरधर्म्मोत्तर**वचनादिति निर्णीतं, तन्नान्यत्र क्वापि दृष्टम् । केवलं गौडा एव **स्मृतिमहार्णवे भोजदेवेन** लिखितमिति वदन्ति । देशान्तरे स्मृतिमहार्णवेपि नैतद्वचनम् दृश्यते । तेन संदिग्धमूलमिदम् ॥

Śrīkara thus appears to have access to Bengal as well as other manuscripts of the celebrated digest of Bhojadeva.

Halāyudha the supposed author of the anonymous *SP*. is almost certainly different from the loquacious author of the *Brāhmaṇasarvasva*, who has not hesitated to display the flying colours of his own literary and political career in the long introduction of the latter work. The author of the *Brāhmaṇasarvasva* belonged to the Vātsya *gotra* and was probably of Vārendra lineage (cf. *Hist. of Bengal*, I, p. 636). According to the genealogical works, Halāyudha of the Caṭṭa family of Kāśyapa *gotra* was honoured in the court of Lakṣmaṇasena as a Kulīna (Dhruvānanda's *Mahāvaṃśa*, p. 2: Halāyudha is abbreviated to Halo here). One of his descendants Kṛṣṇarāma Nyāyavāgīśa who adorned the court of king Rudrasiṃha of Assam (1695-1714 A.D.) states in the introduction to his *Durgotsavavidhi* that his ancestor Halāyudha was a celebrated scholar and author :—

उत्पन्नोऽत्र कुले हलायुध इति ख्यातः स च स्वाख्यया
विद्योत्कर्षवशाल्लुलोप दिविषद्गोष्ठ्या गुरोर्गौरवं ।
यद्ग्रन्थार्थनिगूढ़मर्म्मकलनादद्यापि विद्वद्गणा
मोदन्तेऽतितरां निरस्य चिरजं दुःखावहं संशयम् ॥ (*verse* 3)[1]

He might have been the author of the *SP*., though it should be noted that Halāyudha was a very common name in Bengal. This family it should be remembered soon lost their social distinction and their devotion to literary pursuits may have contributed to it.

Aufrecht's ascription of the *SP*. to Śūlapāṇi was first questioned by the late Mr. M. Cakravarti (*J.A S.B.*, 1915, p. 340).

DINESH CHANDRA BHATTACHARYYA

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[1] *Vide Sāhitya-Pariṣat-Patrikā*, 1349, pp. 49-51.

# REVIEWS

A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS IN THE COLLECTION OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL by Mm. Haraprasad Sastri. Revised and edited by Chintaharan Chakravarti. Vol. VIII, pts. I and II, Calcutta, 1939-40.

The present volume of the Catalogue, which gives an account of over one thousand Tāntric manuscripts, is based on the material left by the late Mm. Haraprasad Sastri, and is checked, arranged revised and edited by Chintaharan Chakravarti. To the original matter, the editor has himself added a description of some fifty newly acquired Tāntric manuscripts. The Catalogue includes in its scope notices of Original Tantra Works; Digests and Works dealing with particular deities like Kubjikā, Kālī, Tārā, Śiva etc.; Works concerned with Rites, Mudrās and Yantras; Works on Yoga practice; Stotras, not necessarily Tāntric, to different deities and Kavacas; with an introduction and index of titles of works and authors. It will be seen that the Society's collection is fairly extensive and representative, but it is natural that a good percentage of the works should have a special connexion with Bengal. The scripts used are usually Devanāgarī and Bengali, but the oldest MS. described, the Kubjikā-mata appears to be written in later Gupta characters, while there are a few MSS written in Newari and Śāradā. Palm-leaf MSS are very small in number, the bulk consisting of paper MSS. The earliest dated MS appears to be the Mantra-Muktāvali of Pūrṇaprakāśa, which was copied in Saṃvat 1480 (=1424 A.D.), but the number of really old MSS are very few indeed. The interest is bound to be varied, but the editor himself admits that "this volume, like the volume on Smṛti and Purāṇa, contains much that is of little value and importance." This is chiefly because most of the works noticed are of ritualistic character, giving details of Tāntric rites, ceremonies, mantras and deities, and only a very few deal with the general character and principles of Tantra as such. No doubt, some of the works are unique, and are noticed here for the first time, but the number of really important original texts is not large, Nevertheless, they illustrate most of the aspects of Tantra worship, especially of Śakti worship, and bear witness to the widespread popularity of the Tāntric cult in Bengali for centuries.

In the learned introduction the editor has drawn attention to most of the important works and authors and has dealt with their interesting features. There is a number of works relating to the cult of Durgā, Kālī and Tārā. Next to Śakti, the Śiva cult figures prominently, but the Vaiṣṇava Tantra is rather poorly represented. It is interesting, however, to note that there is a work named Rādhā-tantra, presumably a late production, which presents Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā as Kaula worshippers in order to exalt the supremacy of Tantra. Some late works deal with Caitanya worship as a cult. There is a work on the popular cult of Pañcānanda or Pāñcu Ṭhākur, a form of the benign Śiva, as the guardian deity of infants. There are also a few works on alchemy and magic rites, including the six black rites for warding off evil, one on the origin and Tāntric use of hemp, and one (no. 6065) on the Tāntric and medicinal use of wine as a drink. The occasional use of Vedic mantras for preliminary Tāntric rites, especially for the purpose of purification of flesh, meat and wine, is also a notable feature. In spite of the reputation enjoyed in modern times by the Mahānirvāṇa-tantra in Bengal, only one MS of the work is here available; and the comparative scarcity of its MSS in other known collections and paucity of quotations from it in later literature suggest, as the editor rightly comments, that the work did not perhaps occupy as important a place in Tantra literature as its modern popularity would signify.

The exacting task of revising and editing has been done with care and conscientiousness by the experienced editor; and the work will go a long way in maintaining his reputation in this field.

S. K. De

## ACYUTARĀYĀBHYUDAYA OF RĀJANĀTHA DIṆḌIMA (VII-XII) edited by A. N. Krishna Aiyanger, Adyar Library, 1945.

This is the second half, cantos (VII-XII) of the historical *mahākāvya* written about the exploits of the Cola emperor Acyutarāya (1529-1542) of Vijayanagara. The first half of the work was published at Srirangam as early as 1907. In view of the fact that there is a lack of historical works in Sanskrit, this conventional poem which faithfully recounts the chief incidents of the life of Acyutarāya well-known in the history of Vijayanagara should be greatly valued by scholars. The learned editor has very carefully discussed in his well written introduction among other things all important historical materials available in the work. His treatment of the life of the author Rajanātha throws important light on the cultural relation between Bengal and the Imperial Colas. For, it is known that the ancestors of the author migrated from Bengal to the land of the Colas. The text of the work has been edited from as many as twelve Mss. and there seems to have been no difficulty in its constitution. The authorities of the Adyar Library are to be congratulated on its publication.

CATALOGUE OF THE ANUP SANSKRIT LIBRARY. Prepared by C. Kunhan Raja and K. Madhava Krishna Sarma. Published by the Bikaner Government. Bikaner, 1944.

The valuable collection of Skt. Mss. in possession of the Bikaner Govt. has up till now been known to scholars through a very inadequate list prepared (1880) under the guidance of the late Rajendralal Mitra. This collection now constitutes the Anup Sanskrit Library and this name has been given in memory of the late Maharaja Anup Singhji of Bikaner. The present Catalogue though not strictly descriptive has been a great improvement upon the one mentioned above and scholars will be much benefited by it. The Bikaner *durbar* is to be congratulated on its publication.

JINARATNAKOŚA (an alphabetical register of Jain works and authors) vol. I, Works, by H. D. Velankar, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. Poona, 1944.

This very valuable work which was announced some years ago has at last been published partly. A register of old texts on Jainism and of Jain authors in the lines of the well-known *Catalogus Catalogorum* by Th. Aufrecht was a desideratum for the Jain studies. The present work by Mr. Velankar has half-finished that work and we expect to see other half completed and published at no distant future. Even with the help of the published vol. I, scholars on Jainism may get light on many points. It would be no exaggeration to say that the editor has done his work with scrupulous care and for this, scholars will have to be grateful to him. But it is a pity that he has totally ignored the Prakrit names of the Jain canonical and other works, for reasons which are not apparent. But this will not be a great handicap for scholars using the work.

M. GHOSH

INDIAN CONSTITUTIONAL DOCUMENTS, 1757-1945: vol. I-1757-1858.. Edited with Introduction and Notes by Anil Chandra Banerjee, M.A., P.R.S., Lecturer in History, Calcutta University. Calcutta.

The editor of the volume under review is one of those promising young scholars who have seriously undertaken the study of modern Indian history. His contributions to this subject are well-known:

his books on the Marathas, the Rajputs and the North-Eastern frontier policy of the British Government have received well-deserved praise from different quarters. The present volume shows that he is interested also in the constitutional and administrative history of modern India. It is not a study in interpretation based on unpublished documents; it is a collection of published documents illustrating the origin and growth of the present Indian constitution. But the selection itself reveals the editor's thoroughness and discrimination, and the *Introduction* clearly shows his admirable grasp over this complicated subject. Hardly less important from the standpoint of the advanced students are his *Notes* and references, which testify to his acquaintance with the large and growing literature on modern Indian history. The inclusion of documents illustrating the relations of Indian States with the British Government is a well-concieved novelty. As the States are steadily becoming an integral part of the so-called British Indian constitution, no study of Indian constitutional history which neglects them can claim to be complete. We congratulate Prof. Banerjee on the publication of this really useful and interesting volume.

INDUBHUSAN BANERJEE

INDIA AND CHINA, by Dr. P. C. Bagchi, M.A., Dr. es-lettres (Paris) 240 pp. Published by China Press Ltd., Calcutta.

This excellent monograph on India and China offers a graphic account of a thousand years' cultural contact of India with China. Its language is so lucid and presentation so attractive that one can hardly leave the book without coming to its end. It gives a bird's eye-view of the main aspects of Buddhist culture as it took shape in the Chinese soil.

Opening the book with a map and a geographical account of the routes interlinking India and China along with a historical background, the author tells us how and when Buddhist scholars from Central Asia, Kashmir, Nalanda and other Buddhist centres of learning went to China and what they did for the propagation of Buddhist culture in the land of their adoption. Very few people know how many Chinese pilgrims other than Fa-hien, Hiuan-tsang, and Yi-tsing, studied Buddhism in India; in the third chapter of this monograph he has dealt with these along with a detailed account of the career of the three above-mentioned Chinese pilgrims, and a section on the Chinese inscriptions in Bodh-Gaya. In chapter IV, he surveys the progress of the religion in China in the different periods of Chinese history and the schools of Buddhism that developed there. In chapter V, he gives in a nutshell an idea of the whole Chinese-Buddhist literature, on which he has already published two learned volumes. The migration of Indian arts and sciences to China has not also escaped his attention. In chapter VII he deals with Chinese thought, and its probable points of contact with early Indian thought. In the Appendix there is a short biographical account of Indian scholars who worked in China. In this small but comprehensive monograph, the author has held out before the eyes of our young scholars the probable lines of study and research that can profitably be taken up by them. It is an admirable work and worth study by every student of Indian culture.

N. DUTT

# Select Contents of Oriental Journals

## Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,

vol. XXV, pt. iv (October, 1944)

V. V. MIRASHI :—*An Ancient Dynasty of Khandesh*. Mahārāja Svāmidāsa and Mahārāja Bhuluṇḍa are donors of two copper-plate grants issued from a place called Valkha in the years 67 and 107 respectively. As the records had been obtained from a person in the Indore State, the Mahārājas mentioned therein had been believed so long to have been rulers of a region situated near the state. These records bear a close resemblance in their characters, phraseology and mode of dating to a copper-plate grant found at Shirpur in Khandesh mentioning Mahārāja Rudradāsa as its donor and the year 117 as its date. This fact together with other considerations leads to the conjecture that all the three grants belong to kings of one dynasty ruling in the East Khandesh with their capital in Valkha identified with Vāghil, about 6 miles from Chalisgaon, on the Bombay-Bhusawal line of the G. I. P. Railway. Describing themselves as *paramabhaṭṭāraka-pādānudhyāta*, the rulers were probably feudatories of the Ābhīras, using in their grants the years of the Ābhira era 67, 107 and 117 corresponding to A.C. 316-17, 356-57 and 366-67 repectively.

M. R. MAJMUDAR.—*Abhimanyu-upākhyāna and the unknown Episode Re: Abhimanyu's previous Life*. The paper, which has also been published in the *Bhāratīya Vidyā* (vi, 2), deals with the story of Abhimanyu's previous birth as a demon not traceable to the *Mahābhārata*, but related in a work of about 1100 ślokas in 20 chapters deposited in the Manuscript Library of Baroda Oriental Institute.

G. V. TAGARE.—*Nominal Stem-formation in Apabhraṃśa*.

M. G. PANSE.—*Episodical Variants in the Marāṭhī Versions of Ādi Parvan as compared with the Critical Text*.

P. K. GODE.—*Chronological Limits for the Commentary of Indu on the Aṣṭāṅga-saṃgraha of Vāgbhaṭa I, (between A. D. 750 and 1050)*.

LUDWIK STERNBACH.—*Juridical Studies in Ancient Law: Legal Protection of Plants in Ancient India* The statements in Dharmaśāstra literature show that the ancient Indians believed that plants enjoyed life and felt pain. That the trees occupied a high place in the estimation of the people is known from rules enjoining the worship and preservation of plant-life.

S. K. BELVAEKAR.—*Some Interesting Problems in Mahābhārata Text-transmission.*

### Calcutta Review, June, 1945.

NANIMADHAB CHAUDHURI.—*The Pamirian Alpines in the Indus Valley in Chalcolithic Times.* The Pamirian Alpines or brachy cephalic Indo-Aryans whose culture and language were akin to those of the dolicocephalic Indo-Aryans of the Ṛgvedic India are a distinct stock, from which have descended the Indo-Aryans of the Outer Countries of Indian History. The purpose of the article is to show that the Pamirian Alpines had been present in the Indus Valley long before the Ṛgvedic people came to India. These earlier Indo-Aryans "were largely responsible for the development of the Indus religion ; and the elements in the Vedic religion, which appear to be borrowed from the Indus religion, were contributed by them."

### Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society.

vol. XVII, part II (December, 1944)

V. S. AGRAWALA.—*Dharma-pattana.* Dharma-pattana is found enumerated in the *Amarakośa* amongst the synonyms of black pepper. Evidently, the commodity derived its name from the country of Dharma-pattana where it was produced in abundance. The place is identified with the region of Nakhon Śrī Tammarat, which is "about 200 miles north of Kedan and situated on the east coast of the southern peninsular extension of Siam to the north of Malay peninsula". Tammarat is the ancient city of Dharmarāṣṭra bearing witness by its name to the influence of the Brāhmanical settlers from India.

B. S. UPADHYAYA.—*On Some Ancient Place-names in Kālidāsa.* It is an attempt to identify the territorial divisions mentioned in the 4th canto of the *Raghuvaṃśa* in connection with the description of Raghu's conquests. Special stress has been laid on the probable frontiers of India at the time of Kālidāsa.

RAHULA SANKRITYAYANA.—*Importance of Buddhist Logic.* The writer emphasizes the value of the Sanskrit works on Logic, written by the master minds of the Buddhist schools. A large number of these works is now available only in Tibetan versions. Karṇagomin flourishing probably in the 9th century wrote an important commentary on Dharmakīrti's *Pramāṇavārtika*, opposing the views of many well-known supporters of the 'Static philosopy', e.g. Umbeka, Maṇḍana, Vāsudevabhaṭṭa and Naiyāyik Śaṅkara. The *Nairātmya-siddhi*, an independent treatise by the same author, criticizes the 'conception of any permanent substratum behind the phenomena of the world of change.'

ADRIS BANERJI.—*Narasiṃhagupta.* The paper deals with problems connected with the reign of Narasiṃhagupta, a ruler of the later Gupta dynasty.

V. S. AGRAWALA.—*The Sanskrit Legend on the Bilingual Taṅkas of Mahmūd Ghaznī.* Mahmūd Ghaznī issued from Lahore silver coins bearing on the obverse the Kalima and the legend in Arabic in the Kufic script with their Sanskrit renderings on the reverse written in Devanāgarī characters of the 10th century. *Allah* has been translated into *Avyakta* and Muhammad has been designated as *Avatāra.*

S. K. BANERJI.—*Shah Jahan's Monuments in Agra.*

**Journal of the University of Bombay**, vol. XIII, pt. 2 (September, 1944)

H. D. VALENKAR.—*Hymns to Indra by the Vasiṣṭhas.* Fourteen hymns (19-32) of the 7th Maṇḍala of the *Ṛgveda* addressed to Indra by the seers of the Vasiṣṭha family have been translated into English with annotations.

K. R. POTDAR.—*Contemporary Life as revealed in the Works of Bāṇa.* This instalment of the paper deals with statements in Bāṇa's two works *Kādambarī* and *Harṣacarita,* relating mainly to the State and the king, the daily life of the people, the royal palace, the army and the military operations, the populor beliefs and sense of morality, and the prevalent philosophical ideas.

P. K. GODE.—*A contemporary Manuscript of the Bhojanakutūhala of Raghunātha belonging to Sāmjī Nāyak Puṇḍe (between A.D. 1650 and 1685).*

B. G. GOKHALE.—*Gods in Pāli Literature.*

**Poona Orientalist**, vol. X, nos. 1 & 2, (January-April, 1945)

P. K. GODE.—*Exact Date of the Advaitasudhā of Lakṣmaṇa Paṇḍita (A.D. 1663) and his possible Identity with Lakṣmaṇārya, the Vedānta-teacher of Nilakaṇṭha Caturdhara, the commentator of the Mahābharata.*

P. C. DIVANJI.—*Brahma-Ākāśa Equation.* According to Śaṅkara's interpretation of the Ākāśādhikaraṇa of the *Brahmaśūtra,* Brahman has been referred to in the Vedānta as *Ākāśa.* The history of this equation of Ākāśa with Brahman has been discussed under the following head-lines: meaning of the equation and time of its origin, its amplification in the Upaniṣadic Age, lesser emphasis on the point in the Epic Age, its revival in the Sūtra Age, and its development in the post-Brahmasūtra Age.

K. MADHAVA KRISHNA SARMA.—*Dharmapradīpa of Narahari.* The Anup Sanskrit Library possesses a ms. of Narahari's *Dharmapradīpa*, a rare work on Dharmaśāstra dealing with various topics like *yugadharma*, *varṇadharma*, *dravyaśuddhi* and *prāyaścitta*. The ms., with its initial portion missing, contains one hundred folia and is dated Śaka 1373=A.C. 1451.

R. V. JAGIRDAR.—*Cārudatta and Mṛcchakaṭika (A Study of Authorship).* Two dramas *Cārudatta* and *Mṛcchakaṭika* attributed respectively to Bhāsa and Śūdraka have been compared to show that inspite of their remarkable resemblances, the variations are more significant. The former drama, is regarded here as a revised stage version of the latter, and not at all as a composition of Bhāsa.

### Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society,

vol. XXXV, No. 3 (January, 1945)

M. YAMUNACHARYA.—*The Evolution of the Monotheistic Conception in the Bhagavadgītā.* Verses have been quoted from the *Gītā* to show how the one-God idea has developed in the work by gradually assimilating into it the polytheistic and animistic tendencies that were in circulation.

K. S. VAIDYANATHAN.—*A Note on the Date of the Conquest of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam by Āditya I.* The Cola king Rājakeśarivarman Āditya I (A.C. 870-909) conquered the Pallava country of Toṇḍaimaṇḍala. One of the three epigraphs found at Uttarmalūr in the centre of the Pallava country belongs to the 17th year of the reign of a Rājakeśarivarman. As he has been identified with Āditya I., the conquest of Toṇḍaināḍu by him might have taken place during or before the 17th year of his reign,—A.C. 887.

N. K. VENKATESAM PANTULU.—*The Story of the Asuras.* The purpose of this instalment of the paper is to show that the Narmada Valley had been an ancient seat of culture which was, as can be gathered from the Purāṇic accounts, once a great field of activities of both the Asuras and their opponents.

K. MADHAVA KRISHNA SARMA.—*Patañjali and the Linguistic Changes.* Comparative statements quoted from Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, and Patañjali show that in view of the progress which the science of grammar had made at the time of Patañjali, he brought in his *Mahābhāṣya* the work of his predecessors up to date.

P. SAMA RAO.—*Sources of Indian Art.* The knowledge of the Śāstras—Vedas, Purāṇas etc. to be prove an indispensible guide and a source of inspiration to an Indian Artist.

### Sino-Indian Studies, vol. I, pt. 3 (April. 1945)

LO CH'ANG-P'EI.—*Indian Influence on the Study of Chinese Phonology.*

N. AIYASWAMI SASTRI.—*Harivarman on Vaiśāradya. Vaiśāradya* (fearlessness) which is the 'most important of all the characteristics of the Buddha' is clearly explained in the *Tattvaśuddhi* of Harivarman, who is believed to have been a disciple of Kumāralāta. An exposition of the doctrine of *Vaiśāradya* is given here from Harivarman's treatise available in Chinese translation.

P. C. BAGCHI.—*Bodhisattvaśīla of Śubhākarasiṃha.* The *Bodhisattvaśīla* (*Wu wei san tsang ch'an yao*) is a Mahāyāna treatise in Chinese by Śubhākarasiṃha, an Indian teacher from Nālandā, who had been to China in the beginning of the 8th century. The work has been described and translated into English. It contains the rules of conduct that are regarded as essential for the initiation into the Mahāyāna, and teaches the mystic practice of *dhyāna*, *dhāraṇī* and *mudrā* for attaining *Bodhi*. It also deals with the breathing exercises and similar means helpful for the attainment of *samādhi*.

# Obituary Notice

## Jean Przyluski

A great French scholar passed away on October 27th 1944. The void created by such a loss is immense for all those who had the privilege of following his teaching, even though many of them may now have attained distinctions. As to the friends who loved and understood him, their hearts will be moved painfully at his demise.

The work he leaves is considerable; he alone could show the unity and cohesion, and make a synthesis of it. This synthesis he hastened to complete, it seems as if he had anticipated with strange foresight the appointed date. He felt that his work would seem diverse, even illassorted to those who did not take the pains to find out the directive ideas in it. Some people have perhaps thought that he was overtaken with a mania for constantly passing from one subject to another, whereas the diversity of his researches, often miscalled 'dispersion' was due to the very nature of his preparatory approach, drawing closer and closer to the heart of the question, and of the necessary clearing up of proceedings, positive excursions bringing up to light philosophical, ethnographical, religious and social facts, which facts, then, brought in new problems. He endeavoured to solve these problems by a development of the main ideas which stand out as landmarks along the course of this whole work and can be summed up briefly as follows: religious thought forms the basis of philosophical and scientific thought; religion, in the earlier civilizations, is the most complete expression of mentality. Even after the partial secularization of culture, it is impossible to understand it if the origins are obscure. *Religious facts, inseparable from their phonetic and plastic expression, must be examined in the midst of their geographical, economical and cultural surroundings*; this study will lead to the discovery of the elementary forms of thought and show its development.

His minute investigations about the most various subjects, presented under the shape of either important monograph or a hundred or so of short articles, make up a living whole because every one of them is written in support of the same thesis: the unity and universality of the great asiatico-european complex. The structure is perfectly coherent, though seemingly erected with motley materials, and the path leading up to it follows an unchanging gradual course.

Born at Le Mans in 1885, Jean Przyluski had reached the age of thirty before he was able to give himself up entirely to scientific study. Still very young, he was attracted by the East and left for Indochina at the age of twenty-two. Already licensed by the Ecole Coloniale, he attended, at the École des Hautes Études, the teaching of Durkheim's early disciples, E. Huber and H. Mauss, and worked with E Chavannes. Following a stage of two years during which he improved his knowledge of the Annamit language, he was appointed Administrator of the Civil Services of Indochina. Shortly afterwards he taught Annamit at the Résidence Supérieure du Tonkin. While on leave in France he obtained the diploma of the École des Langues Orientales Vivantes and, back at Hanoi he was entrusted, at twenty-six, with the delicate duties of Chef de la Section des Affaires au Gouvernement Général de indigenes Indochina, where his amiability and patience won him the local people's trust and confidence.

He already published, in 1909, a *Note sur le Culte des arbres au Tonkin*, and in 1910 *A Contribution á l'étude du dieu, du sol.* then in 1912 a study on *Les formes pronominales de l'annamite.* He lived in direct and constant contact with the Asiatics. This enabled him to perceive the connexions between the rites, beliefs, linguistic facts, techniques, geographical and economic circumstances: invaluable initiation into the living science which marked his entire work.

Owing to his early scientific production he was admitted as a corresponding member in the École Française d' Extrême Orient and, in 1913, he returned to France as an Assistant to the teacher of Annamit at the École des Langues Orientales. This is where the war found him in 1914. He joined the 4th Regiment of Zouaves and, in 1916, becomes Controleur of the Indochinese Troops.

As soon as he was discharged, he returned to the École des Langues Orientales. In the meantime he published two monographs: *La divination par l'aiguille flottante et par l'araignèe dans la Chine méridionale*, and *L'or, son origine et son pouvoir magique*, according to Annamit folklore, and his first study on Buddhism: *Le Nord-Ouest de l'Inde dans le Vinaya des Mulasarvastivadin*, thus acting under Hubert's suggestion when he left Indochina, to use the Chinese and Tibetan sources in the study of Buddhism. In Paris, the greater part of his time was devoted to this task and he worked, to begin with, under Sylvain Lévi's direction. *Le parinirvana et les funérailles du Buddha*, followed by *La Roue de la vie á Ajanta* testify to this active period.

In 1920 he took up the duties of Louis Finot's assistant in addition to his teaching of Annamit which he kept up at the École des Langues Orientales. This is how he gave lectures on Indochinese History and Philology at the College de France and, at the time, he created, at the École des Langues, the course of comparative grammar of the Indochinese tongues.

During the same period, he published a series of articles on linguistics about the loanwords from Non-aryan in Indo-Aryan and, at the request of A. Meillet, wrote for *Les Langues du Monde* the chapters on Sino-Tibetan, the Tibeto-Burman languages, Chinese, the Tai, Austroasiatic and Mon-Khmer, Annamit and the Munda tongues.

His study of Buddhism was, however, as active as ever. The specialists, as we know, separate in two sides because their preference is granted to the Pali canon or to the texts written in other languages. J. Przyluski thinks that all the sources either Pali or non-Pali, have to be compared if the scientist wants to grasp the various aspects of Buddhism during its history. The question is not to acquiesce in an orthodoxy, or to rediscover a tradition reputed to be the true one, but to assemble all the forms of the most ancient universal religion and, in so doing, to separate clearly the periods and the countries. The main difficulty resides in the absence of a chronology. It is possible to establish one if the texts are analysed and if their constituting elements and different readings are classified. This is where the help of geography is invaluable. Buddhism has followed the commercial routes in its expansion over the land and it is possible to connect the geographical facts with the historical development. Jean Przyluski expounded this method and applied it in his thesis for the doctor's degree: *La Legende de l'Empereur Áçoka.* The results yielded by this system have been enlarged in *La Concile de Rajagriha* which is an introduction to the history of the Buddhist Canons and Sects, later on made accessible to the larger public in an article published in the *Revue de Paris* (1929). and then taken up in an illustrated monograph.

In 1926 a chair of Buddhist philology was created for him at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes. The courses of linguistics and ethnography of Oriental Asia and Oceania at the Institut d'Ethnologie were entrusted to him in 1927. When the first International Congress of Linguistics took place in 1928 he was elected its vice-president. Then, in 1930, Louis Finot, whose assistant he has been for the past seven years, decided to resign and J. Przyluski was offered this chair, which was patronized by the Gouvernement General de l'Indochina.

He gave up his teaching of Annamit, but his Indochinese researches revived because the study of Buddhism has brought him back to the problem which had already risen before him in Indochina: the problem of civilization. In fact, whereas in India the brahmanic society is a comparatively closed up one, the Buddhist world, on the contrary, is largely open to external influences. Jean Przyluski's interest in Indian civilization, formerly believed to be the result of an Aryan graft on a Dravidian sapling, is keener than ever when the analysis of the Sanskrit vocabulary revealed to him the addition of linguistic elements which are neither Aryan nor Dravidian ones, but which came from the so-called Austroasiatic tongues. Passing on from the vocabulary to the institutions, he endeavoured to measure the Austroasiatic

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loans in mythology, legend, rituals, popular tales and in the organization of the family and the social groups.

In the Indian civilisation, however, several complex problems remain, which cannot be explained by the sole influence of the three fundamental Dravidian, Austroasiatic and Aryan elements. During several years Jean Przyluski pursued the study of the Iranian influences upon the civilization of India and, more particularly, upon the development of Buddhism. He showed in several publications that, ever since the beginning of the historical period, the populations of the steppes have brought to India an element which can be called "Iranian" because it is conspicuous in the Achemenid empire civilization. The facts proving to be so numerous, he decided to direct part of his researches towards the cult of the Mother Goddess, but the problem passed the boundaries of the Indian sphere and the author followed it in Iran, Babylonia, Asia Minor, etc.

Finally, transporting his thesis to another field in order to test its value, he undertook the study of the Hittite civilization, where the same Aryan and non-Aryan elements as in Vedic civilization have mingled at an early date. The first results of this quest threw a light upon the development of the Indo-European.

But, always, Jean Przylnski is drawn back to Buddhism. In presence of the constantly multiplying studies and of their disorderly character, he undertook, asking me to help him through this task, to create the Bibliographie Bouddhique so that the workers, informed every year of the worldly production, might direct their search towards domains still unexplored and, well acquainted with the precise results of the previous efforts, measure what their own effort should be in order to reach novel and useful ends. To study Buddhism is to enlighten the entire ancient history of India, as Sylvain Lévi wrote "...all the general problems of Indian antiquity group together quite naturally round the history of Buddhism." (*L'Inde et le Monde*).

At the very beginning of his career as an orientalist, Jean Przyluski felt that neither the classification of the languages nor that of the human races could suffice to guide the research in the study of the human societies in their development. As he progressed he looked upon the Indian society not as a fragment of the Indo-European civilization, but as a moving whole, where the most diverse influences and ethnic elements, the agents of the Asiatic civilizations, have combined.

His remote descent and a close cooperation dating more than fifteen years back connected Jean Przyluski with Polish science. In 1938 the Warsaw University awarded to him the diploma of Doctor honoris causa. The speech delivered by the lamented St. Schayer upon this occasion is a valuable document: it reflects the foreign scientists' position in regard to the French orientalist's work. After he has suggested that some thesis or hypothesis may possibly be subject to revision and correction in the future, Schayer affirms that a portion of this enormous work, and undoubtedly the most considerable part of it, will remain for a long time "as an epoch in the history of our conceptions about the origin and essence of culture." Our Polish colleagues and friends had been kind enough to send a French translation of this speech to me, thus allowing it to escape the destruction where all the University of Warsaw's publications disappeared. I will publish it as a foreword to the analytic biliography which will come out as soon as circumstances permit.

Jean Przyluski had often spoken to me of an important philosophical work at a time where, both of us being entirely absorbed in the preparation of lectures and publication of our specialized production, we could only imagine the possibility of such a realization in our old age and with the help of its quiet leasure. During the last years of the war, he turned to this realization. Getting away from the sadness and anxiety of the time being, trying to forget in this concentration of mind the separation from the being dearest to him and his cruel deafness (developed in Indochina it had grown total and was hopeless), he wrote a philosophical trilogy: *La Participation* (1940); *L' Evolution humaine* (1942); *Créer*, published in December 1943. *Créer*......a beautiful title, and which reminds me of the ardour for life, the exhilarating joy in creating which this scientist experienced, who was never a library scholar but a passionate lover of the country and a man who could not separate scientific conception from the sensation of the soil trodden by his feet, of the sun burning his forehead. The impossibility of going out of town often enough—even for a few hours—told on his mind more than on his body. When he lived in Paris, he was sustained by the idea of the long mountain excursions which he loved with the passion and nostalgy of an excellent ski-rider and a first-rate alpinist.

Brutally struck by death when he was barely sixty, Jean Przyluski had still a great deal to say. He was given time, at least, to expound his conception of life: his last book, *Créer*, is a hand-book for moral and physical improvement rather than a statement of theories. But he leaves two unpublished scientific works: *La Grade Déesse* and *Les Migrations eurasiatiques* which sum up his work as a whole, this whole which was never out of his mind, even when he was examining the merest detail.

To the seeker who, like Jean Przyluski, has obeyed some directive ideas and tended always to the demonstration of their value, the gathering of the materials and the erection of the long dreamt of construction must represent a super human satisfaction. To these who desire to follow the way laid out by him it is also an asset.

MARCELLE LALOU

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# Place of Laity in Early Buddhism

The principles of early Buddhism did not make any special provision for the laity.[1] Its mission was to persuade householders to embrace the life of a recluse,[2] and Buddha was so successful in his mission in Magadha that people of the country raised a hue and cry over it, saying that Samaṇa Gotama was bent upon making the families sonless, women widowed and line of succession discontinued.[3] Many householders retired from the worldly life because of the teaching that the life of a householder was impure and an obstruction to spiritual progress while that of a recluse was pure, open and free, and besides it was not easy for a person living a householder's life to follow the teachings propounded by the teacher and to lead the thoroughly pure life of a *brahmacārī*.[4] Thus, it is evident that the new religion was primarily meant for those who would retire from the household life. For householders generally some rites or ceremonies are provided, or some form of worship is recommended, by the founder of a religion but there was nothing of the kind in Buddhism. On the other hand the householders were asked to eschew rites and ceremonies (*sīlabbata*),[5] and this was made one of the primary conditions for becoming a devotee of Buddha.

At the same time, it has to be admitted that the Buddhist Saṅgha must have a lay-community for its very existence, some supporting families from which the members could have the bare necessaries of their life. In ancient India, however, the formation of a lay-community need not be a condition precedent to the formation and growth of a body of recluses. Without any distinction of caste and creed, the householders welcomed every ascetic approaching them for food and dress, and hence the Buddhist monks at first did not experience any difficulty to get their requirements from the existing families. As time went on, they picked up some householders who showed them more veneration and who were more prompt in making offerings to them than others. These householders were designated *upāsakas* or *upāsikās* and received special attention of the Buddhist monks. In the early days of Buddhism, these householders looked after the needs of the monks during the rainy-season retreats (*vassā-vāsa*) and got opportunities to come into frequent contact with them and to listen to their discourses. Such closer contacts led to the institution of certain rites and ceremonies which Buddhism wanted so much to avoid at its inception. The rites and ceremonies observed by these householders were as follows : —

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[1] See "*Early Buddhism and Laity*" in *Studies in Indian History and Culture* by Dr. N. N. Law.

[2] *Vinaya*, i, p. 37: caratha brahmacariyaṃ sammā dukkhassa antakiriyāyā ti.

[3] *Vinaya*, i, p. 37: aputtakāya paṭipanno samaṇo Gotamo, vedhavyāya paṭipanno samaṇo Gotamo, kulūpacchedāya paṭipanno samaṇo Gotamo.

[4] Cf. *Majjhima*, i. p. 344: Sambādho gharāvāso rajāpatho abbhokāso pabbajjā, nayidaṃ sukaram agāram ajjhāvasatā ekantaparipuṇṇam ekantaparisuddhaṃ saṅkhalikhitaṃ brahmacariyaṃ carituṃ. Cf. *Majjhima*, ii, p. 55: Yathā yathā khvāhaṃ Bhagavatā dhammaṃ desitaṃ ājānami nayidaṃ sukaraṃ gharam ajjhāvasatā etc. as above.

[5] Sans. *Sīla* and *Vrata*.

(i) To utter the formulae of *Trisaraṇa*,
(ii) To listen to religious discourses on *uposatha* days,
(iii) To observe eight *sīlas* occasionally, and
(iv) To offer robes to the monks on certain occasions, specially at the end of the rainy season retreat.

Later on the faithful persons were advised,

(v) to visit the four places of pilgrimage,[1] and,
(vi) to worship the *stūpas*, particularly those containing the relics of Buddha.[2]

The six items mentioned above, it should be noted, came into vogue gradually. We are told that Tapussa and Bhallika were the first to become *upāsakas* (*dvevācika*)[3] while Yasa's father became the next upāsaka with Trisaraṇa (*tevācika*).[4] Henceforward several Khattiyas, Brāhmaṇas and Gahapatis[5] became upāsakas. After listening to a discourse they usually declared themselves as upāsakas in these words : —

"Abhikkantaṃ bho Gotama, abhikkantaṃ bho Gotama. Seyyathā pi bho Gotama nikujjitaṃ vā ukkujjeyya, paṭicchannaṃ vā vivareyya, mūḷhassa va maggaṃ ācikkheyya, andhakāre va telapajjotaṃ dhāreyya : cakkhumanto rūpāni dakkbintīti; evam evaṃ bhotā Gotamena anekapariyāyena dhammo pakāsito. Ete mayaṃ bhavantaṃ Gotamaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāma dhammañ ca bhikkhusaṅghañ ca upāsake no bhavaṃ Gotamo dhāretu ajjatagge pāṇupete saraṇagate ti."

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[1] *Mahāparinibbanāsutta*, p. 141.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 142.

[3] *Vinaya*, i, p. 4. i.e. they tock refuge in Buddha and Dhamma only, as the Saṅgha had not yet been formed.

[4] *Ibid*. p. 17.

[5] See infra, p. 165-66.

(Excellent O Gotama, excellent. Just as one who turns the upturned, opens the covered ones, shows the path to the deluded, holds a lighted lamp in darkness, you have preached the doctrine in such a way that those who possess eyes (of knowledge) can see the actual objects. We seek refuge in you, O Gotama, in your Dhamma and in your Saṅgha. Accept us as your life-long lay-devotees).

The extract cited above appears *verbatim* at the end of almost every discourse addressed to a householder or a group of householders. It should not however be taken as indicative of a person's actually changing his creed and becoming an upāsaka. Several brāhmaṇas and gahapatis expressed their appreciation of the discourses by these set words, and did not care to follow up the declaration by observing the moral precepts and performing the duties specially prescribed for the Upāsakas and Upāsikās.

## *The Three Parisās*

This class of devout listeners to Buddha's discourses is referred to in the Nikāyas as Khattiya-parisā, Brāhmaṇa-parisā and Gahapati-parisā.[1] There are occasional references to the four castes[2] as well but the more common way of referring to this class of people was by the above-mentioned three *parisās* (assemblies).[3] In some passages the word 'parisā' is replaced by 'mahāsāla' (nobles or rich men).[4] Not unoften is the word '*paṇḍitā*' (wise men) used instead of '*parisā*'.[5] The juxtaposition of the word 'gahapati' to 'khattiya' and 'brāhmaṇa' suggests that it meant usually the *seṭṭhis* (bankers) or businessmen or men who have taken to some vocations, such as agriculture, carpentry, smithy and so forth.[1]

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[1] *Majjhima*, i, p. 72: Abhijānāmi kho panāhaṃ Sāriputta, anekasataṃ khattiya-parisaṃ upasaṅkamitā, tatra pi maya sannisinnapubbañ c'eva sallapitapubbañ ca sākacchā ca samapajjitapubbā.

[2] *Aṅguttara*, iv, p. 259: Sabbe khattiyā aṭṭhaṅgasamannāgataṃ uposatham upavaseyyuṃ sabbe pi brāhmaṇā...sabbe pi vessā...sabbe pi suddā aṭṭhaṅgasamannāgataṃ uposatham upavaseyyuṃ.

[3] The other parisās are Samaṇa-parisā, Cātummahārājika-parisā, Tāvatiṃsu-p., Māra-p., Brahma-p. See *Majjhima*, i, p. 72; *Dīgha*, II, p. 109; *Saṃyutta*, v, p. 51.

[4] *Saṃyutta*, i, p. 71: Khattiyamahāsālā and Brāhmaṇa-mahāsālā have ample gold and silver and other treasures. *Aṅguttara*, iv, pp. 104, 130, 239; *Dīgha*, ii, p. 146.

[5] Khattiya-paṇḍitā etc., *Saṃyutta*, iii, p. 6; *Majjhima*, i, p. 176; *Aṅguttara*, iv, pp. 104, 130, 239.

In the *Aṅguttara-nikāya*[2] the distinctive features of the three *parisās* are pointed out thus: All the three classes of men seek worldly enjoyment (*bhogādhippāya*) and try to acquire knowledge (*paññupavicārā*). The Khattiyas rely on their prowess (*balādhiṭṭhānā*), is bent upon acquiring lands (*paṭhavībhinivesā*) and aim at dominance (*issariyapariyosanā*), the Brāhmaṇas depend on hymns and chants (*mantādhiṭṭhānā*), is attached to sacrifices (*yaññābhinivesā*) and aim at reaching Brahmaloka, while the Gahapatis depend on arts and crafts (*sippādhiṭṭhānā*), remains engaged with their works (*kammantābhinivesā*) and aim at fruition of their works (*niṭṭhita kammantapariyosānā*).

### *Aims and objects of Gahapatis*

Of these three parisās, the largest number of devotees of Buddha came from the Gahapati parisā, few from Brāhmaṇa and a very few from the Khattiya. About the characteristics of the Gahapatis, the Nikāyas say that they were keen about accumulation of gold, crops, buildings, lands, wife, male and female servants.[3] Their happiness consisted in possessing worldly objects, in enjoyment of the same, and in remaining free from debts and faults.[4] In short, the Gahapatis enjoyed all worldly pleasures derivable through the five organs of sense.[5] Dīghajānu Koliyaputta said that the householders sought worldly objects, sons and wife, unguents, garlands and other articles of luxury, gold and silver; he wanted instructions from the Teacher as to the ways and means by which the householders could be happy in this life and the next. The reply was that the householders should be energetic in his vocation (*uṭṭhānasampadā*), take good care of the wealth earned righteously by the sweat of his brow (*ārakkhasampadā*), associate with men having faith, good morals, charitable disposition and wisdom (*kalyāṇamittatā*). and try to acquire their good qualities[6] and be like them (*samajīvitā*). Tapussa gahapati[7] was frank enough to admit that the gahapatis were afraid of retirement, and given to worldly pleasures because they had not realised the evil consequences of attachment to worldly objects.

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[1] Cf. Kassakagahapati in *Aṅguttara*, i, p. 229.

[2] *Aṅguttara*, iii, p. 363.

[3] *Majjhima*, i, p. 452.

[4] *Aṅguttara*, ii. p. 69: atthisukha, bhogasukha, anaṇa-sukha and anavajja-sukha.

[5] *Majjhima*, i, p. 505.

[6] *Aṅguttara*, i, p. 281-2; iii, p. 45.

[7] *Aṅguttara*, iv, p. 438.

Potaliya gahapati[1] thought that as he had retired from his works (*kammanta*) and business (*vohāra*), leaving his possessions to his sons, and as he had been living on bare requirements of food and dress, he should no longer be called a *gahapati*, but Buddha would not listen to him as he had not yet fulfilled the elementary conditions of a retired life. Though the householders remained engrossed in their worldly possessions, some of them were religious minded and approached different religious teachers for instructions. The Brāhmaṇas and Gahapatis of the village Sālā[2] said that they had listened to the teachings of different teachers and had not yet made up their mind to accept any of them as their spiritual guide. They approached Buddha and his disciples and listened to their instructions now and then, and some of them avowed themselves as upāsakas of Buddha, but not necessarily complying with all the conditions to be fulfilled by an upāsaka.

### *Discourses to Gahapatis*

In every Nikāya, excepting the *Dīgha*, there is a *Gahapativagga*, [3] in which Buddha administered instructions to a particular *gahapati* or delivered discourses for the benefit of *gahapatis* in general. There are also discourses dealing incidentally with the general rules of morality, effects of *karma*, ideals of a householder and his wife, and the fundamental principles of Buddhism. The Gahapativaggas are found to contain discussions on all aspects of Buddhist ethics and philosophy. There were also many learned Brāhmaṇas, Khattiyas and Gahapatis who took part in abstruse discussions with Buddha and his disciples. In the *Gahapativagga* of the *Majjhima Nikāya*, [4] there are ten *suttas*. In the Kandarakasutta, Pessa Hatthārohaputta spoke in appreciation of the four *satipaṭṭhānas* and said that he and other householders occasionally tried these four practices. [5] He was then told about the various ascetic practices prevalent in the country, and the superiority of the practices and acquisitions of Buddhist monks. To Dasama Gahapati was explained how a monk attained the *anāgāmi* and *arahatta* stages, and practised the four *brahmavihāras* and *arūpasamāpattis*. [6] The Sakkas of Kapilavatthu, specially Mahānāma, listened to a discourse on what made a *sekha* (i.e. a monk progressing towards Nibbāna). Potaliya gahapati felt offended at being called a *gahapati* in his so-called retired life and he was made to understand how one ceased to be a householder according to Buddha's law (*ariyassa vinaye*). Jīvaka could not believe that Buddha was taking meat specially prepared for him and on enquiry he was told how could the Buddha, perfect in the four *brahmavihāras*, do so. In the Upālisutta, one of the longest discourses, the teachings of Nigaṇṭha Nāṭaputta were discussed, and Upāli gahapati, a distinguished disciple of Nigaṇṭha Nāṭaputta, was convinced of the superiority of Buddhist teachings, and was won over to the Buddhist faith. Puṇṇa Koliyaputta and Acela Seniya listened to a discourse on the effects of *kamma*,[1] gave up their austerities and joined the Buddhist order. Abhayarājkumāra, a lay disciple of Nigaṇṭha Nāṭaputta, wanted to cross words with Buddha at the instigation of his teacher but ultimately succumbed to Buddha's arguments. Pañcakaṅga thapati would not recognise the *adukkhamasukha-vedanā* as the third *vedanā*, the two other being *sukha* and *dukkha*. Buddha explained that *sukha* was a relative term and then gave an exposition of the stages of *sukha* through which a monk passed in order to reach the highest state of mental concentration. In the last sutta of this *Gahapativagga* is given an exposition of the views of a few heretical teachers as well as the wrong views held about *Arūpa-brahmaloka* and *Nibbāna*; at the end of this discourse all the Brāhmaṇas and Gahapatis of the village Sālā expressed their desire to become devotees of Buddha.[2]

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[1] *Majjhima*, ii, p. 359.

[2] *Ibid.*, i, p. 401.

[3] *Majjhima*, i, pp. 339-413; *Saṃyutta*, ii, pp. 68-80; iv, pp. 109-124; *Aṅguttara*, iv, pp. 208-235.

[4] *Majjhima*, i, pp. 330-413.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 340: Mayam pi hi bhante gihī odātavasanā kālena kālaṃ imesu catusu satipaṭṭhānesu supatiṭṭhitacittā viharāma.

[6] *Majjhima*, I. pp. 350-353.

There are two *Gahapativaggas* in the Saṃyutta-nikāya.[3] In the first, the Gahapatis were admonished to observe the five moral precepts, develop faith in the *Triratna*, and comprehend the law of causation including the four truths. Incidentally the question of the identity and difference of soul and *khandhas* is discussed. In the second *Gahapativagga*, there are discourses on hindrances (*saṃyojanas*) which kept one away from *Nibbāna*, on watchfulness over body (*kāya-satipaṭṭhāna*) and its movements, on restraint in act, speech and thought, and on feelings of pain and pleasure derived through the organs of sense. There is a reference to the fall of Brāhmaṇas from their ancient ideal which was similar to the present Buddhist ideal of self-restraint.

As regards the duties of a gahapati it is stated in this Nikāya that a gahapati should (i) maintain his parents; (ii) rever elders of the family; (iii) use gentle words; (iv) avoid malicious talks; (v) discard

[1] *Majjhima*, i, p. 389.

[2] *Ibid.*, i, p. 413.

[3] *Saṃyutta*, ii, pp. 68-80; iv, pp. 109-184.

miserliness: (vi) be open-handed; (vii) be truthful and (viii) never be angry.

The *Gahapativagga* of the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (iv. pp. 209-235) deals more with the duties of a gahapati than with the general principles of Buddhism. The eight special virtues of a gahapati are (i) firm faith in Buddha; (ii) appreciation of the Dhamma; and (iii) regard for the Saṅgha; (iv) charitableness. even to the extent of giving away one's wife, (v) open-handedness in distributing property among the saints; (vi) keenness to listen to religious discourses; (vii) lack of pride due to spiritual success; and (viii) severance from five impurities (*orambhāgiyas*). The Gahapatis are expected to possess seven other virtues, viz., faith (*saddhā*), moral restraint (*śila*), modesty (*hiri*), shame (*otappa*),[1] learning (*bahussuta*), charitable disposition (*cāga*) and knowledge (*paññā*). Some of the Gahapatis practise the four *saṃgahavatthus*[2] viz., gift, sweet words, beneficial acts and treat others as his equals, and thereby obtain a large circle of friends.[3] Hatthaka of Alavi was the chief of those who practised the *saṅgaha-vatthus.*[4]

Though there is no *Gahapativagga* in the *Dīgha Nikāya*, there are two suttas (*Lakkhaṇa* and *Sigālovāda*) which deal with the duties of a Gahapati. In the *Lakkhaṇa-sutta*, the virtues or duties of a gahapati are mentioned though not in a systematic form, e.g., a good man should perform good deeds, restrain himself in body, speech and thought, be charitable, observe *uposathas*, take care of parents, Samaṇas and Brāhmaṇas[5] practise the four *saṅgahavatthus,*[6] exert for others' good, both moral and secular,[7] approach Samaṇas and Brāhmaṇas for instructions,[8] never harbour any anger or hatred,[9] try to bring about concord among quarrelsome persons,[10] and help others in increasing their faith, moral virtues, knowledge, charity, religiosity, wisdom, and secular possessions, look upon others with friendly eyes, never utter a lie, malicious, harsh or useless word, or never cheat others, and so forth.

In the *Sigālovādasutta*, the following duties are prescribed for a Gahapati:—(i) Abstinence from killing, speaking falsehood, stealing and adultery; (ii) avoiding commission of offences through strong will (*chanda*), hatred (*dosa*), delusion (*moha*) and fear (*bhaya*);

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[1] See *Saṃyutta*, ii, p. 197.

[2] dana, peyyavāca, atthacariya and samānattatā.

[3] The last four discourses in this Vagga have nothing to do with the duties of Gahapatis and so they are passed over here.

[4] *Aṅguttara*, I. p. 26.

[5] *Dīgha*, III, p. 145.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 152.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 154.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 157.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 159.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 160.

(iii) refraining from drinking and merry-making, evening shows, dramatic performance, dice-plays, evil friends and idleness; (iv) avoidance of enemies posing as friends and obtaining sincere friends; (v) looking after parents, teachers, sons and wife, friends and advisers, servants and workers, Samaṇas and Brāhmaṇas.[1]

### *Gahapatānī*

There are not many discourses specially devoted to the duties of the female members of a household. In the *Saṃyutta-nikāya*[2] a woman is enjoined to earn merits by good deeds, so that she may be reborn in a good family, be married in a good family, have no co-wife, be blessed with sons, and possess influence over her husband. Her strength, it is said, consisted in her appearance (*rūpa*), wealth (*bhoga*), relatives (*ñāti*), sons (*putta*) and moral virtues (*sīla*).[3] Like the gahapatis, they should also develop faith (*saddhā*), observe moral precepts (*sīla*), listen to religious discourses (*suta*), be charitable (*cāga*) and acquire knowledge (*paññā*).[4] They should be quiet, gentle and obedient.[5]

Women[6] generally are more miserly (*macchariyā*), envious (*issukī*), more strongly attached to worldly objects[7] than men, and their knowledge also is less than that of men.[8] They must drive away from their minds anger, hatred and disrespect for others,[9] and be chaste, diligent, modest and bashful. They must not be greedy, wish others' evil, indulge in malicious, harsh or useless talks, and discard wrong views.[10]

There are certain special directions given to women, which are as follows: —

They should (i) be well-wisher of their husbands, cater to their comforts and be sweet and attractive to them, (ii) respect the parents of the husband, and rever the Samaṇas and Brāhmaṇas revered by the husband's family, (iii) be efficient in household work, e.g., in spinning, (iv) look after the needs of the servants and workers of the household and feed them properly, (v) protect paddy, gold and other articles brought by her husband, (vi) become an upāsikā by taking

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[1] Cf. *Saṃyutta*, i, p. 231.

[2] *Saṃyutta*, iv, p. 249-250.

[3] *Saṃyutta*, iv, p. 246.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 250.

[5] *Majjhima*, i, p. 125.

[6] *Aṅguttara*, iv, p. 270; *Saṃyutta*, iv, p. 250.

[7] *Aṅguttara*, p. 281; *Saṃyutta*, iv, p. 240. It is said that for these deficiencies they were not allowed to sit in the assemblies.

[8] *Aṅguttara*, ii, p. 203: *Kopa*, *dosa* and *appaccaya*. See also *Saṃyutta*, iv, p. 240 f.

[9] *Aṅguttara*, v, p. 286.

[10] *Saṃyutta*, iv, p. 246.

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Trisaraṇa, (vii) observe the five precepts, and (viii) be charitable[1] and (ix) acquire knowledge. The first five bring her success in this life and the succeeding four (i. e. *saddhā*, *sīla*, *suta* and *paññā*) make her happy in the next.

The conversation that Nakulamātā gahapatānī had with her husband in deathbed shows how spiritually advanced sometimes the gahapatānīs were. Nakulamātā said to her husband that (i) death with anxiety is disapproved by Buddha and so he should not die with any anxiety (*sāpekho*) for her as to how she would meet both ends and rear her sons; she knew spinning and shaving hair (*veniṃ olikhituṃ*) and by plying that trade,[2] she would be able to tide over her difficulties. (ii) He need not apprehend that she would go to another family, for both of them knew that they had been living as *brahmacārīs* for the last 16 years. (iii) He must not think that she would not care to approach Bhagavān or his monks after his death; on the other hand, she would be more eager to approach them, or (iv) that she would not observe the moral precepts; on the contrary she would be no less energetic than the best of the householder-disciples of Buddha. (v) He must not have any doubt that she would not attain mental tranquillity (*cetosamatha*); on the contrary she would be the best of those upāsakas who practised *ceto-samatha*. (vi) He must rest assured that she was deeply interested in this doctrine and was not wanting in deep faith, in Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha.[3] There were other upāsikās also like Sujātā, Visākhā, Khujjuttarā, Sāmāvatī, Uttarā Nandamātā, Suppavāsā Koliyadhītā, Suppiyā, Kātiyānī, and Kālī of Kuraraghara, who were extolled by Buddha as leading female devotees for having some extraordinary virtues.[4] In spiritual attainments, the female lay-devotees vied equally well with the male-devotees.[5]

### *Upāsakas and Upāsikās*

The Gahapatis mentioned above were more or less devout listeners to the moral or religious discourses delivered by the monks. They offered food, clothing and other necessaries of life to the monks. Occasionally at the end of a discourse, they signified their appreciation by saying that they would take Trisaraṇa and become upāsakas till the end of their lives. A number of Brāhmaṇas, Gahapatis,

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[1] *Aṅguttara*, iv, p. 265-266; iii, p. 37.

[2] It seems that Nakulapitā was a barber by profession.

[3] *Aṅguttara*, II, pp. 295.

[4] *Aṅguttara*, i, p. 26.

[5] See Infra, p. 2I.

Gāmaṇīs, Paribbājakas, nobles and princes[1] are found to say that they would become upāsakas, but there is nothing to show that they actually followed the moral code and performed the duties prescribed for the Upāsakas. These may be taken as lay-supporters of the Buddhist Saṅgha. The fact that there was a large number of such supporters is evidenced by the remark in the *Mahāparinibbānasutta* that Buddha should choose for his *parinibbāna* one of the towns like Campā, Rājagaha, Sāvatthi, Sāketa, Kosambī, and Vārāṇasī where are many Khattiya, Brāhmaṇa and Gahapati Mahāsālas to worship his relics.

Out of this body of lay-supporters appeared a group of persons who were more earnest in their devotion to Buddhism, and naturally tried to follow the principles of Buddhism as far as compatible with their life as a householder. In order to distinguish this body, Mahānāma the Sākyan raised the question as to what should be the marks of an upāsaka.[2] Buddha's answer, however was not very helpful for he simply said that anyone taking the Trisaraṇa was an upāsaka. In another context, however, it is stated that an upāsaka must have not only faith in the Triratna, observe moral precepts, and do good to people in return but also not resort to auspicious rites, and offer gifts to persons outside the Buddhist Saṅgha.[3] There are instances to show that some householders eschewed their old teacher and became an upāsaka of Buddha. Pukkusa Mallaputta, a disciple of Ālāra Kālāma,[4] Upāli Gahapati and Abhaya Rājakumāra, a rich upāsaka of Nigaṇṭha Nāṭaputta,[5] a gahapati-devotee of an Ājīvaka[6] changed their teachers and became upāsakas of Buddha. There are evidences to show that a number of householders was distinguished as devout upāsakas, and that their number was large in certain localities.[7] The stereotyped remark found in the *Nikāyas* that Buddhist Upāsakas do not like noisy discussions shows that some householders were distinguished as Buddhist upāsakas. Then passages like "*yavatā kho pana samaṇassa Gotamassa sāvakā gihī odātavasanā Sāvatthiyaṃ paṭivasanti, ayaṃ tesaṃ aññataro Pañcakaṅgo thapati*" (Pañcakaṅgo the architect is one of the distinguished white-dressed householder disciples of Gotama residing at Sāvatthī)[1] leave no room for doubt that some persons were marked out as Buddhist upāsakas.

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[1] E. g. Caṅkī brāhmaṇa (M. ii. 177); Ghoṭamukha-br. (M. ii. 163); Assalāyana-br. (M. ii. 157); Brahmāyu-br. (M. ii. 145); Citta-Gahapati (S. iv. 301); (for other Gahapatis, see above); Vekhanassa paribbājaka (M. ii.); Susima-paribbājaka (S. ii. 120); Madhuro Avantiputta (M. ii. 90); Bodhirājakumāra (M. ii. 97), For Gāmaṇīs, see Gāmaṇī-Saṃyutta in *Saṃyutta-Nikāya*, iv.

[2] *Aṅguttara*, iv; p. 220; *Saṃyutta*, v, p. 395; Kittavatā nu kho bhante upāsako tī ti?

[3] *Dīgha*, ii, p. 132-3.

[4] *Majjhima*, i, p. 379.

[5] *Aṅguttara*, i, p. 219.

[6] Cf. *Aṅguttara*, iv, p. 59: Campeyyakā upāsakā approached Sāriputta for requesting Buddha to deliver a discourse to them.

[7] *Majjhima*, ii, p. 23.

The members of these families received the special attention of the Buddhist monks, who prescribed for them certain moral duties, which were classified under five heads, viz., *Saddhā* (faith), *Sīla* (observance of moral precepts), *Cāga* (charity); *Suta* (listening to religious discourses) and *Paññā* (comprehending the higher truths).[2]

(i) By *Saddhā* is meant that an upāsaka must have firm faith in the Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha. There is a set formulae to express that faith, which is, in short, as follows:— Bhagavān the perfectly enlightened endowed with knowledge and good conduct is the highest, the knower of the world, the leader of men and gods. His Dharma is well-preached, produces fruit in this life, knows no limitation of time and is realisable within one's ownself. The Saṅgha of his disciples, who are in one of the eight stages of sanctification, is well-established in good conduct, is bent upon acquiring knowledge, is worthy of gifts, praise and reverence and is a fit recipient of gifts.

(ii) By *Sīla* is meant that an upāsaka must abstain from killing, stealing, adultery, speaking falsehood and indulging in drinks and merrymakings.[3] He must discard all mental impurities like excessive greed (*abhijjhā*), hatred (*vyāpāda*), slothfulness (*thīnamiddha*), flurry, (*uddhaccakukkucca*), and doubt (*vicikicchā*).

(iii) By *Cāga* is meant that an upāsaka should be charitable, provide the monks with food, robes, beds and medicinal requisites.[4] He should be open-handed, and prone to giving gifts[5] to the needy.

(iv) By *Suta* is meant that an upāsaka should reverentially listen to religious discourses and moral teachings imparted by the monks.

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[1] *Majjhima*,

[2] *Majjhima*, i, p. 467; iii. p. 99; *Saṃyutta*, p. 231; *Aṅguttara*, i, p. 210; iv, p. 270.

[3] *Aṅguttara*, iv, p. 220.

[4] Cf. *Aṅguttara*. ii, 65.

[5] *Aṅguttara*, ii, p. 65; Muttacāgā payatapāni vossaggaratā yācayogā dānasaṃvibhāgaratā.

(v) By *Paññā* is meant that an upāsaka should try to comprehend the origin and decay of worldly objects,[1] in other words, realise the four truths and the law of causation.[2]

The above mentioned five practices are fully described in the *Gahapativagga*[3] and elsewhere. Ugga Gahapati said that his *saddhā* was of such an order that the moment he saw Buddha even from a distance, his mind obtained satisfaction (*pasidi*). He observed the five *sikkhāpadas*, and thereby completed the practice of *sīlas*. He approached bhikkhus and listened to their discourses with due respect (*sakkaccam eva suṇāmi no asakkaccaṁ*). For the sake of sacrifice (*cāga*) he would give away his young wives and divide his property among the religious people, and while giving gifts to the monks he would not discriminate between one monk and another on account of their spiritual attainments. He would listen to the higher teachings of Buddhism and thereby become *paññavā*.

To Brāhmaṇa gahapatis of Veludvāra, Buddha delivered a discourse dilating on the five precepts referred to above. He said that an upāsaka in order to become a *sotāpanna* should bear in mind the following *dhammas*: —

(i) Realising how painful is one's own death, a person should not cause other's death.

(ii) Remembering how a thief is hated by one whose possessions are stolen, a person must not steal other's property.

(iii) Knowing how much a person is hated by the man with whose wife he commits adultery, one must not commit adultery.

(iv) As a liar is disliked by everybody so one must not speak a lie.

(v) As a man who by malicious words brings about dissension is abhorred by everybody, so one should not utter malicious words.

(vi) As a person is disliked for harsh words, so one must avoid uttering the same.

(vii) As a person is looked down for his frivolous talks, one must not indulge in the same[4].

A person should not only practise the seven dhammas mentioned above for his own benefit but also persuade others to do the same.[5]

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[1] *Aṅguttara*, iv. p. 271: Udayatthagāminiyā paññāya samannāgato ariyāya nibbedhikāya sammādukkhakkhayagāminiyā.

[2] *Aṅguttara*, v, p. 184; *Saṃyutta*, v. p. 61; *Aṅguttara*, ii, p. 67, For Nīvaraṇas, see *Saṃyutta*, v, pp. 60, 146.

[3] *Aṅguttara*, iv, pp. 209 ff.

[4] *Saṃyutta*, v, p. 353 f.

[5] Cf. *Aṅguttara*, iv, p. 221.

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An upāsaka is further prohibited from trading in (i) weapons; (ii) livestock; (iii) meat; (iv) wine and (v) poison.[1]

In the *Milindapañha* (p. 94) there are a few additional instructions given to the upāsakas. These are as follows:—

An upāsaka should (i) feel happy or sad at the happiness or sorrow of the Saṅgha; (ii) make the *dhamma* the leading factor of his life; (iii) share his gain with others as far as possible (iv) exert his best for the growth of the religion of the teacher whenever its decline is noticed; (v) hold the right view; (vi) avoid performing any auspicious rite or venerating another teacher even for the sake of his life; (vii) observe restraint in acts and words; (viii) be keen in maintaining concord; (ix) discard jealousy and (x) avoid hypocrisy in following the religion. In the *Vinaya*[2] are enumerated the five advantages obtained by a householder by observing the sīlas. He (i) gains immense wealth and property; (ii) acquires fame; (iii) can appear boldly before any social congregation; (iv) dies consciously and (v) goes to heaven.

## *Lay-devotees and Saṅgha*

Apart from the moral precepts to be observed by the upāsakas and upāsikās, they were enjoined to supply the members of the Saṅgha with robe, food, bed and medicinal requisites.[3] As a result of such gifts they were given the hope that in the next world they would have long life, good appearance, happiness and strength.[4] In making these gifts, however they must not have any selfish end in view (*sāpekha*).[5] Some of the upāsakas and upāsikās visited the several ārāmas to find out if any one was sick and needed medicines which they procured to the best of their abilities.[6] The monks on the other hand were warned that with complete self-restraint they should approach householders for food and dress, or for any other purpose. They are not to associate themselves with the joys and sorrows of householders,[7] for there were instances of monks having got entangled with women[8] by such association. They were also advised not to accept alms from those householders who had at any time made attempts to bring about adversity to the monks, or injure them in any way, or oust them from their residence (*āvāsa*), or have abused them or tried to cause dissension between one monk and another, or have spoken ill of Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha.[9] The monks were further instructed to avoid those householders who would not welcome them with sweet words, not show respects to them, or not offer them seats kindly, conceal his possessions, give little and bad things though they have ample and good things, offer gifts irreverentially, do not approach monks for listening to discourses, and do not like instructions.[1] At the end of the rainy season the Saṅgha held a ceremony called Pavāraṇā and Kaṭhina at every *āvāsa*. On these occasions, the upāsakas were advised to offer robes and were told that gifts on such occasions carried special merits.

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[1] *Aṅguttara*, i, p. 208.

[2] *Vinaya*, I. p. 227-228.

[3] *Aṅguttara*. ii, p. 66.

[4] *Ibid*, ii, p. 64.

[5] *Ibid*, ii, p. 59.

[6] *Vinaya*, I, p. 216.

[7] *Saṃyutta*, iii, p. 11.

[8] *Aṅguttara*, iii. p. 259; iv, p. 54.

[9] *Aṅguttara*. iv, p. 344.

### *Uposatha of the Upāsakas*

On the uposatha days, the more devout upāsakas were advised to observe eight precepts[2] instead of five. They sometimes spent the day in a monastery in company of the monks. The eight precepts were,—

- (i) complete abstention from killing by laying aside all weapons, and developing a kindly and friendly feeling towards all beings;
- (ii) complete abstention from stealing, and remaining pure and satisfied with what is given;
- (iii) total abstention from sexual enjoyments, and living the life of a true *brahmacārī*;
- (iv) complete discarding of untruth, and remaining always anxious to be truthful;
- (v) refraining from all kinds of drinks and merrymakings:
- (vi) taking only one meal a day, and refraining from afternoon meals;
- (vii) avoidance of all places of amusement where there is dance and music, also rejection of scents, unguents and garlands, and lastly
- (viii) sleeping on low beds or grass mats and discarding high beds.

Some of the advanced upāsakas were able to attain concentration of mind. This concentration was induced in them by their deep

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[1] *Aṅguttara*, v, p. 387.

[2] *Aṅguttara*, iv, p. 251:

Pāṇaṃ na haññe na cadinnam adiye
musā na bhāse na ca majjapo siyā
abrahmacariyā virameyya methunā
rattiṃ na bhuñjeyya vikālabhojanaṃ
mālaṃ na dhāraye na ca gandham ācare
mañce chamāyaṃ vasayetha santhate
etaṃ hi aṭṭhaṅgikam ah' uposatham
buddhena dukkhantagunā pakāsitam

faith in Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha. This faith engendered in their minds deep satisfaction that they had achieved something good. Through this satisfaction, their mind became serene and concentrated.[1] They practised the *jhānas* one after another and perfected themselves in all the four *jhānas*. Cittagahapati[2] and Uttarā Nandamātā[3] became highly proficient in the *jhānas*. Some of the Upāsakas practised the four *brahmavihāras* and four *satipaṭṭhānas*.[4] Sāmāvatī Upāsikā[5] was the chief of those who practised *mettā*.

Khujjuttarā Upāsikā acquired *paṭisambhidā*[6] and abilities in learning Buddha's words[7]. Nandamātā upāsikā was so spiritually advanced that her mind was not moved when she saw her husband reborn as an ogre. Her chastity was unimpeachable and there was no occasion for her to confess (*paṭidesitā*) any transgression of the moral laws. Nandamātā mastered the four *jhānas* and removed all the five *orambhāgiya* impurities. Sirivaddha and Mānadinna were advised to practise *satipaṭṭhāna* in order to overcome acute pain due to disease.[8]

### *Teaching imparted to lay-devotees*

In delivering discourses to the householders, Buddha and his disciples uniformly observed an order (*anupubbikathaṃ*). They first expatiated on the merits of giving gifts (*dānakathaṃ*) and observing moral precepts (*sīlakatham*), and the reward obtained thereby, viz.. a heavenly existence (*saggakathaṃ*)[9]. Then they dilated on the evils of enjoying worldly pleasures (*kāmānaṃ ādinavaṁ*) and the merit of retirement from the world (*nekkhamme ānisaṁsaṁ*). When they found that this teaching had made a good impression on the mind of a householder, they passed on to the next higher teaching, the exposition of the four truths, *dukkha*, *samudaya*, *nirodha* and *magga*, and made them realise that whatever has origin must have decay (*yaṃ kiñci samudayadhammaṃ sabban taṃ nirodhadhamman ti*).[10]

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[1] *Aṅguttara*, v, p. 330.

[2] *Saṃyutta*, iv, p. 281 f.

[3] *Aṅguttara*, i, p 26; iv., p. 66.

[4] *Majjhima*, i, p. 340: mayam pi gihī odātavasanā kālena kālaṃ imesu catusu satipaṭṭhānesu supaṭṭhitacittā viharāma.

[5] *Aṅguttara*, i, p. 26.

[6] *Visuddhimagga*; p. 442.

[7] It is said that she reproduced the *Itivuttaka* heard by her from the teacher.

[8] *Saṃyutta*, v, pp. 176.

[9] The first discourse was delivered by Buddha to the Brāhmaṇa gahapatis of Magadha. See *Vinaya*, i, p. 37.

[10] Cf. *Majjhima*, i, p. 379; ii, p. 145.

There were householders who took greater and greater interest in Buddhist religion and philosophy, and actually we find that they took interest in the deepest problems of Buddhist philosophy.[1] Cittagahapati was complimented for being able to understand the subtleties of Buddhist philosophy[2] while Anāthapiṇḍika was told that topics not to be explained to a householder were being laid before him for his edification.[3] There is a rule in the *Pācittiya* (no. 4) that to an uninitiated the *dhamma* is not to be preached syllable by syllable. The upāsakas were advised to avoid reading Suttantas.[4] It is however clear that the householders were as far as possible kept away from the deeper teachings, lest they should be frightened away, from taking interest in the religion. But again, we find that Nandamātā upāsikā recited the *Pārāyaṇa* at dawn and that Sāriputta explained to Hāliddikāni gahapati the verses of Aṭṭhakavagga. When Anāthapiṇḍika was in his deathbed, Sāriputta delivered to him a discourse on Buddhist philosophy so that he might overcome the extreme pain.[7] In the discourse he pointed out that a person must not cling to the six organs of sense or to the perceptions and feelings derived through the organs of sense, or to the *dhātus* like earth, water, fire, air, space (*ākāsa*) and consciousness (*viññaṇa*), or to the five constituents of a being, or to the four Arūpadhātus, or to this world or the next, or to things seen, heard, thought or known.

To Nakulapitā Buddha explained how the unenlightened persons identified soul with one or all of the *khandhas* and thus suffered from the misconception of the existence of a self, while to Hāliddikāni, Mahakaccāna explained the stanza of the *Aṭṭhakavagga* (*Sutta Nipāta*, p. 165):

"Okaṃ pahāya aniketasārī gāme akubbaṃ muni santhavāni
Kạ̄mehi ritto apurekkharāṇo kathaṃ na viggayha janena kayirā"

[A monk should give up clinging to the five constituents, remain unattached to the characteristics of the perceived objects (*aniketasārī*). He must not associate himself with the weal and woe of householders, discard love, desire, attachment and despair, not speculate about his future existence (*apurakkharāṇo*) and quarrel with other monks regarding correctness and incorrectness of a *dhamma* or a rule of discipline.]

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[1] See above.

[2] *Saṃyutta*, iv, pp. 282 f: Suladdhaṃ te gahapati yassa te gambhire buddhavacane paññācakkhu kamatī ti.

[3] *Majjhima*, iii, p. 261; Na kho gahapati gihīnam odātavasanānaṃ evarūpī dhammakathā paṭibhāti.

[4] *Saṃyutta*, v, p. 407.

[5] *Aṅguttara*, iv, p. 63.

[6] See Infra.

[7] *Majjhima*, iv, p. 258 f. Cf, *Saṃyutta*, iv, p. 115 f.

In all the discourses delivered to Citta, Nakulapitā and Hāliddikāni, the main topic dealt with was that a person must not take pleasure in the origin of *khandhas*, which were subject to decay; that an unwise person misconceived one or all of the *khandhas* as soul, and developed a notion of I-ness. A true disciple of Buddha should not care for his past *khandhas*, nor think of his future *khandhas* and must not have any attachment to his present *khandhas*.[1] Ugga gahapati and others were taught that those who were engrossed with the sense-objects would not attain Nibbāna.[2] Soṇa gahapati[3] was taught that the *khandhas* were impermanent and impermanence was grief, and that none of the *khandhas* or all the *khandhas* taken together was soul. In the *Citta-saṃyutta*,[4] we have practically all the abstruse discussions on Buddhist philosophy. These are as follows:—

(i) Neither the organs of sense nor their objects are worldly ties —the tie is thirst that arises out of the contact of the two.

(ii) The distinction that lies between the organ of sense, its object, and the perception caused by the contact of the two.

(iii) The sixty-two non-Buddhistic doctrines are nothing but the outcome of the misapprehension of one or all of the *khandhas* as soul.

(iv) The exact implications of *saṅkhārā* in *Kāya- Vacī-* and *Citta-saṅkhārā*,

(v) The method by which a meditator induces and discontinues the meditation in which perception and consciousness become inactive (*saññāvedayitanirodha*), and the distinction between death and *saññāvedayitanirodha*.

(vi) The meaning of mental emancipation (*ceto-vimutti*) through realisation of the absence of desire (*akiñcañña*), of substancelessness (*suññatā*), and characteristiclessness (*animittatā*) of worldly objects.

(vii) Exposition of the four *brahmavihāras* viz., love, compassion, joy at other's success, and equanimity.

(viii) Elucidation of the four meditations: *savitakka-savicāra*, *avitakka-avicāra*, etc.

From the above, it will be observed that the advanced householders tried to comprehend the deepest problems of Buddhist philosophy, and on occasions even entered into discussions with the teachers of other sects.[5] Though still in white robes they were as spiritually advanced as a monk.

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[1] *Saṃyutta*, iii, pp. 1 f.

[2] *Ibid.*, iv, p. 109.

[3] *Ibid.*, iii, p. 48.

[4] *Ibid.*, iv, pp. 281 f.

[5] Citta gahapati crossed words with Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta. See *Saṃyutta*, iv, p. 298 f.

### *Upāsaka's Spiritual Attainments*

The goal that was held before the householders was rebirth in one of the heavens[1] or as Sakka, the king of gods. This conception was already existing in the pre-Buddhist days, and all religions which accepted the theory of *karma* endorsed it. A householder should be first instructed to make gifts and to observe the precepts, and he is to be convinced that as fruit of this he would be reborn in the heavens (*sagga*). The Nikāyas are full of instances of good householders, who by leading a virtuous life were reborn as gods, and then there is the whole of the *Vimānavatthu* to illustrate this theory of *karma*. Aśoka also upheld this view, and did not like to go beyond. But the principles of Buddhism could not support it fully. Immediately after *saggakhàthaṃ*, the householders were to be instructed in looking upon worldly pleasures as evil and retirement as the best course of life (*nekkhamme ānisaṃsaṃ*). Hence it is evident that the ideal held by Buddhism even before the householders was not rebirth in one of the heavens but retirement from the worldly life. In the *Mahāparinibbānasutta*, Buddha is heard to say about the fruits attained by some of his departed *upāsakas*. He said that Sudatta (=Anāthapiṇḍika) and ninety others had become Sakadāgāmi, while Sujātā and 500 others Sotāpanna. Kakudha upāsaka reached the Anāgāmi stage, so also did Kāliṅga, Nikaṭa, Kaṭissabho, Tuṭṭha, Santuṭṭha, Bhadda, Subhadda and several others.[2]

The next lower fruits attained by the upāsakas are detailed in the *Janavasabha Sutta*,[3] where it is stated that those who took the *trisaraṇa* and observed the *sīlas* were reborn as Paranimmitavasavatti, Nimmāṇarati, Tusita, Yama, Tāvatiṃsa and Cātummahārājika[4] gods, and that the lowest state in which an upāsaka could be reborn was *Gandhabba*. The merit of observing the uposatha with eight precepts is immense happiness surpassing even that of the kingship of all the sixteen provinces of India. He is reborn as one of the gods of the heavens mentioned above. A man or a woman who has observed the uposatha and earned the least merit will be reborn as a god.[5] It is evident therefore that the fruits earned by an upāsaka ranged from the Anāgāmi stage to rebirth as a *gandhabba*. An advanced upāsaka naturally did not wish to have re-existence however happy it might be. Citta gahapati when in deathbed was tempted by the gods to wish to have a future existence as a Cakkavatti, but Citta Gahapati convinced them that the life of a Cakkavatti was impermanent and hence it was also not a desirable state.[1]

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[1] *Majjhima*, i, p. 505: Householders enjoying worldly pleasures by good conduct goes to *sagga*.

[2] *Dīgha*, ii, pp. 92-93, 200-1.

[3] *Ibid.*, II, p. 212.

[4] Cf. *Aṅguttara*, iv, pp. 252 f.

[5] *Aṅguttara*, iv, p. 255:

Tasmā hi nārī ca naro ca sīlavā aṭṭhaṅgupetam upavass'uposathaṃ
puññāni katvāna sukhudrayāni aninditā saggam upenti ṭhānan ti.

The upāsakas and upāsikās, though retaining their white dress, aspired for the fruits obtained by the monks and nuns, viz., Sotāpatti, Sakadāgāmi and Anāgāmi. Like the monks they had not the opportunity of following a particular way of life, but still they were held out the hope that by fulfilling the duties prescribed for them they could attain three of the four fruits attained by a monk or nun.

The first fruit attained by a monk is Sotāpatti. It could also be attained by an upāsaka or upāsikā by practising *saddhā*, *sīla suta*, *cāga* and *paññā* explained above.[2] The condition precedent to the attainment of this fruit is the removal of three hindrances, viz., belief in the existence of a self (*sakkāyadiṭṭhi*),[3] belief in the efficacy of rituals (*sīlabbataparāmāsa*) and lack of faith in the Triratna (*vicikicchā*). There are instances of several upāsakas and upāsikās who attained sotāpatti.[4]

It is rather interesting to read of an instance of a lay-devotee though addicted to drinking attaining the fruit of Sotāpatti. The reason shown is that he had so much faith in the *Triratna* that he could not be reborn in any of the lower planes of existence and was destined to *sambodhi*.[5]

The second fruit attained by a monk is Sakadāgāmi. The conditions precedent to the attainment of this stage was the reduction of attachment (*rāga*), hatred (*dosa*) and delusion (*moha*) to the minimum (*tanutta*). A large number of lay-devotees complied with this condition and attained the Sakadāgāmi stage, i.e., they would come once more to this world, and then attain Nibbāna.

The third fruit attained by a monk is Anāgāmi. To attain this stage one must completely remove *rāga*, *dosa* and *moha*. The usual condition laid down for a lay-devotee is that he is to remove the five impurities of the lower category (*orambhāgīyas*) to attain this fruit. The five impurities are the three *saṃyojanas*, mentioned above viz., *sakkāyadiṭṭhi*, *sīlabbataparāmāsa* and *vicikicchā*, the other two being *kāmarāga* and *byāpāda* in other words, *rāga* and *dosa*. By reaching the Anāgāmi stage, the lay-devotee does not return to the world but is reborn only once in one of the heavens to attain Nibbāna (*tatthaparinibbāyī*).

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[1] *Saṃyutta*, iv, pp. 301-4.

[2] Detailed in the *Saṃyutta*, ii, p. 681.

[3] That the self is identical with one or all of the *khandhas*. See *Saṃyutta*, iv, p. 287.

[4] *Saṃyutta*, v, p. 411. In addition to the above five-fold practices, the lay-devotees were recommended to cultivate the following four habits: association with wise men, listening to religious discourses, proper mental exertion (*yoniso manasikara*) and observance of all major and minor rules of morality.

[5] *Saṃyutta*, v. p. 375.

The fourth fruit *arhatta* is not attained by any householder, hence it is beyond the range of achievements of a lay-devotee.[1]

In view of the several statements in the Nikāyas about the after-life of an upāsaka, it is clear that no upāsaka attained arhathood, i.e., Nibbāna. In the *Aggivacchagottasutta*[2] it is explicitly stated that no householder without giving up the householder's life can end his suffering at the time of his death. In other words, he can only be at the most an Anāgāmi, i.e., he must be born once more as a god to attain Nibbāna.

There was a controversy between the Theravādins and the Uttarāpathakas, and recently between Prof. de la Vallée Poussin and Dr. B. C. Law[3] on the point whether a householder could become an arhat (*Gihi 'ssa arahā ti*?).[4] The Uttarāpathakas and Dr. B. C. Law relied on certain passages of the Nikāyas, in which a few householders are mentioned as having become *arhats*. The Uttarāpathakas cited the instances of Yasa Kulaputta, Uttiya gahapati and Setu Māṇava,[5] while Dr. B. C. Law drew his support from the *Aṅguttara Nikāya* (iii, p. 451), in which it is said that Sudatta gahapati (=Anāthapiṇḍika), Citta gahapati, Uggo gahapati and a few other householders realised the immortal (*amataddaso*), i. e. Nibbāna. The remark in the *Majjhima Nikāya*[6] that a householder could realise the excellent truth is discussed in the *Milindapañha* (p. 243), in which Milinda raised the question that if a householder or a recluse could attain the truth by following the right course, there was no necessity for a person to become a monk. Again he questioned (*Milindapañha*, p. 350) if countless householders visualised the truth, what was the good of taking recourse to the ascetic practices (*dhutaṅgas*). Nāgasena gave an evasive answer and dilated on the merits of renunciation and observance of *dhutaṅga* precepts, and avoided the issue by saying that those householders who realised the truth had practised the *dhutaṅgas* in their previous lives.

The passage relied on by Dr. B. C. Law no doubt speaks of the gahapatis having been *amataddaso*, but in the same Nikāya and elsewhere Buddha declared at Nadika that none of the Upāsakas

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[1] See, Infra.

[2] *Majjhima*, i. p. 483: Natthi koci gihī gihisaṃyojanam appahāya kāyassa bhedā dukkhass' antakaro 'ti.

[3] *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute*, xiv, p. 82.

[4] *Kathāvatthu*, iv, 1.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] Cf. *Majjhima*, ii, p. 197: gahaṭṭho ārādhako hoti ñeyaṃ dhammaṃ kusalaṃ.

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mentioned there became arhats. Nakulapitā and Jīvaka became a Sotāpanna, Sudatta a Sakadāgāmi[1] Ugga and Citta became Anāgāmis.[2] The Theravādins[3] contended that a householder in the enjoyment of worldly pleasures could not normally be expected to become arhats. In the similar strain Nāgasena stated that on the very day that a householder attained *arhathood*, he must either die or take the yellow robe[4]. Prof. de la Vallée Poussin also held the opinion that a layman, however faithful or virtuous he might be, could not attain Nibbāna.[5] Buddhaghosa explained the anomaly by saying that Yasa, Uttiya and Setu were mere householders in name, in external dress but not spiritually: they were free from all worldly ties though they had not yet discarded the white dress of a householder.[6] The conclusion that should be drawn from the conflicting statements in the Nikāyas about the attainments of an upāsaka[7] and the controversies in the *Kathāvatthu* and the *Milindapañha*, is that normally a householder could not become an arhat, but there were exceptional cases of householders who became so spiritually advanced that they deserved arhathood but the convention was that no householder unless he gave up his household life would be recognised as an arhat. Upāsakas like Citta and Hatthaka, and Upāsikās like Khajjuttarā and Nandamātā were more spiritually advanced than many monks and nuns, but still they were *sekhas* and not *asekhas* (=arhats).[8] They are said to have destroyed the *orambhāgīya* impurities[9] but not the five *uddhambhāgiyas*: viz., *rūparāga*, *arūparāga*, *māna*, *uddhacca*, and *avijja*, and hence, they could not attain *arhathood*.[10]

N. DUTT

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[1] See above.

[2] *Saṃyutta*, iv. p. 301. Cf. Malalasekera, *Dictionary*. s.v., Citta, Nakulapitā, Jīvaka.

[3] *Kathāvatthu*, iv. 1.

[4] *Milindapañha*, p. 265.

[5] *The way to Nirvāṇa*, p. 150-151.

[6] See above.

[7] Cf. *Papañcasūdani*, iii, p. 196: Santati the minister, Uggaseno the banker's son, Vitasoka the young boy who attained arhathood while in householder's dress, but householder's dress (*gihiliṅgam*) cannot uphold the merit of an *arhat* and so they must either die or retire on the very day.

[8] Cf. *Visuddhimagga*, p. 442: Cittagahapati, Upāligahapati, Dhammika-upāsaka, Khujjuttarā upāsikā acquired *patisambhidā* of the *Sekhabhūmi*.

[9] Cf. *Majjhima*, i. pp. 467, 490-1.

[10] In the *Aṅguttara* (iv. p. 456), it is stated that one cannot be an arhat without removing *rāga*, *dosa*, *moha*, *kodha*, *upanāha*, *makkha*, *palāsa*, *issā*,

# The Subsidiary System in Mewar, 1818-1828

Maharana Bhim Singh of Udaipur concluded a treaty[1] of subsidiary alliance with the East India Company in January, 1818. Article 1 provided for 'perpetual friendship, alliance and unity of interests between the two States from generation to generation'. By Article 2 the Company engaged 'to protect the principality and territory of Udaipur' By Article 3 the Rana promised to 'act in subordinate co operation with the British Government and acknowledge its supremacy', and not to maintain 'any connection with other chiefs or States'. By Article 4 he engaged not to 'enter into any negotiation with any chief or State without the knowledge and sanction of the British Government'. Article 5 provided that all disputes between Udaipur and other States would be submitted to the arbitration and award of the British Government. Article 6 provided that the tribute from Mewar would amount to one-fourth of her revenue for the first five years, and to three-eighths 'after that term, in perpetuity'. The Rana's *vakils* presented to Metcalfe, who concluded the treaties with the Rajput States under the instructions of Lord Hastings, a detailed memorandum on the Rana's claim for the restoration of territories which had 'fallen by improper means into the possession of others'—Sindhia, Holkar, Amir Khan, and the rulers of Jodhpur and Kotah. Article 7 of the treaty referred to this matter and contained the following arrangement: "···the British Government, from a want of accurate information, is not able to enter into any positive arrangement on this subject, but will always keep in view the renovation of the prosperity of the State of Udaipur, and after ascertaining the nature of each case, will use its best exertions for the accomplishment of that object, on every occasion on which it may be proper to do so. Whatever places may thus be restored to the State of Udaipur by the aid of the British Government, three-eighths of their revenues shall be paid in perpetuity to the British Government." In addition to the tribute the Rana agreed (by Article 8) that "the troops of the State of Udaipur should be furnished according to its means at the requisition of the British Government." Article 9 provided that the Rana should always be the "absolute ruler of his own country," and that British jurisdiction should not be introduced into his principality.

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[1] See the present writer's book, *Rajput Studies*, pp. 161-187, and his article on "British Alliance with Udaipur, 1818', published in *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission*, Udaipur Session, 1944.

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In February, 1818, Colonel Tod was deputed to the Court of Udaipur as the first British Political Agent in Mewar. He arrived there on March 8, 1818, and he had to resign four years later because "he resented the deliberate reduction of his status and authority and the unmerited censure which Lord Moira's Government deemed fit to pass on a devoted servant. His admiration for Rajput chivalry was no secret and some of his actions partook in the eyes of less informed persons of the complexion of partisanship. His disregard of official etiquette also exposed Tod to the criticism of his superiors and things came to such a pass that despite his brilliant record as a diplomat and administrator Tod had to leave the country and the people he loved so well."[2]

At the time of Tod's arrival at Udaipur the condition of Mewar was deplorable. To quote his own words: "Mewar was rapidly approaching dissolution, and every sign of civilization fast disappearing; fields laid waste, cities in ruins, inhabitants exiled, chieftains demoralized, the prince and his family destitute of common comforts". The alliance with the Company removed the Maratha terror, but the rulers of Mewar were unfit to deal with the difficult work of reconstruction which now confronted them. Tod says that Rana Bhim Singh was 'naturally defective in energy' and 'swayed by faction and intrigue'. Elsewhere he observes, "He was ever the tool of that faction that had the ascendancy at the moment, and ever ready to be swayed by any one who could practice on his credulity, or administer to his prodigality". The nobles had lost that patriotism and courage which had distinguished them in the long struggle against the Muslims. They were now engaged in factions, intrigues and selfish feuds. The State could not keep them under control, for it was too weak. Tod says that the "Rana...had not fifty horse to attend him, and was indebted for all the comforts he possessed to the liberality of (Zalim Singh of) Kotah". There were many aspirants to high office, but, according to Tod, "The only man about the court at once of integrity and efficiency was Kishendas, who had long acted as ambassador, and to whose assiduity the sovereign and the country owed much; but his services were soon cut off by death". Aggurji Mehta was nominated the chief civil minister (*Pradhān*)[3] on Tod's arrival at Udaipur, but Tod found him in 'every way unequal' to that important office.

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[2] See Dr. S. N. Sen's article entitled "Why Tod Resigned?" published in *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission*, Udaipur Session, 1944.

[3] "The whole of the territorial and financial arrangements are vested in him. He nominates the civil governors of districts, and the collectors of the revenue and custom; and has fourteen *thoas*, or departments, under him, which embrace all that relates to expenditure".—Tod

Such were the materials with which Tod had to begin the work of reform. He was directed by the Supreme Government to take the whole control of affairs into his own hands and to interfere, if necessary, even in minute details. This was, of course, a clear violation of Article 9 of the treaty; but this was the only way of raising Mewar from the depressed condition into which she had sunk.

Tod says, "The first point to effect was the recognition of the prince's authority by his nobles; the surest sign of which was their presence at the capital, where some had never been, and others only when it suited their convenience or their views. In a few weeks the Rana saw himself surrounded by a court such as had not been known for half a century". The Political Agent required them to settle their feuds, to redeem usurpations, both on the crown and each other, and to discharge their traditional duties to their sovereign. "All dreaded the word 'restitution', and the audit of half a century's political accounts; yet the adjustment of these was the corner-stone of the edifice, which anarchy and oppression had dismantled". After 'harassing and painful discussions'[4] Tod secured the conclusion of an agreement (*Kaulnama*) between the Rana and the chiefs of Mewar (May, 1818). The most important clause ran as follows: "All *Khalsa*[5] villages seized by the chiefs in times of trouble and commotion shall be restored". The chiefs also promised to perform personal service at Udaipur with the quota of troops with which they were by ancient custom bound to serve, to restore all customs and other duties seized from the State, and not to harbour thieves and robbers. The Rana promised to respect their ancient rights and privileges. Captain Brookes says, "The accomplishment of this unpalatable measure, without the employment, or even the exhibition of force, is evidence, if such were needed, of the great personal influence of Captain Tod, and the authority our attitude, and the presence of our armies in Central India, gave at the time to all our officers employed at Foreign Courts".[6] Tod himself observes that it was a matter for just pride that "the complicated arrangements arising out of this settlement were completed...without a shot being fired; or the exhibition of a single British soldier in the country, nor, indeed, within one hundred miles of Oodipur"

The recall of the exiled population was a measure simultaneous with the assembling of the nobles. "Wherever a subject of Mewar existed, proclamations penetrated." The feeling for the *bapota* (ancestral land) was strong in every Rajput breast. So the restoration of order in Mewar attracted many of her exiled sons and daughters. Measures were also taken for the economic recovery of the State. Proclamations were issued by the Rana and the Political Agent, inviting foreign merchants and bankers to establish connections in the chief towns of Mewar. The result was satisfactory: "branch-banks were everywhere formed, and mercantile agents fixed in every town in the country." All restrictions on external commerce were removed. The old chains of stations for the collection of transit duties were abolished; all taxes on goods in transit were confined to the frontiers. The scale of duties were revised; "they underwent a reduction of from thirty to fifty per cent." As a result of these wise and comprehensive measures "the transit and custom duties of Mewar made the most certain part of the revenue, and in a few years exceeded in amount what had ever been known." The commercial duties rose from Rs. 96,683 in 1819 to Rs. 2,17,000 in 1822, and they were farmed for three years from 1822 for Rs. 7,50,000. The increasing prosperity of the State was also reflected in the increase of population in some of the chief towns.[7]

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[4] For details see Tod, *Annals of Mewar*, Ch. XVIII.

[5] See A.C. Banerjee, *Rajput Studies*, pp. 111-112.

[6] *History of Meywar*, p. 24.

The revenues of the *Khalsa* lands showed commendable improvement. The spring harvest of 1818 yielded Rs. 40,000; in 1821 it yielded Rs. 10,18,478. That this improvement was largely due to Tod's 'active superintendence' is proved by the fact that, when that superintendence was withdrawn in 1822, the spring harvest yielded Rs. 9,36,640. But the improvement was also due to the extension of the area of the *Khalsa* lands. Kamalmir, Raipur, Rajnagar and Sadri-Kunero were recovered from the Marathas. Jahajpur, which had been taken possession of by Zalim Singh of Kotah in 1806, was recovered as a result of Tod's negotiations in February, 1819. Owing to the weakness of the Rana's administration, this district was managed by the Political Agent, and was subsequently assigned for the liquidation of the arrears of tribute to the British Government in 1821. The district of Mhairwara[8] was subjugated. Moreover, Tod's *Kaulnama* had secured the restoration of many *Khalsa* villages so long occupied by recalcitrant chiefs. From the increasing revenues of the *Khalsa* lands and the

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[7] Udaipur had 3,500 houses in 1818; it had 10,000 houses in 1822. Bhilwara, completely deserted in 1818, had 10,000 houses in 1822. In 1825 Bishop Heber recorded that this commercial city exhibited "a greater appearance of trade, industry, and moderate but widely diffused wealth and comfort, than he had witnessed since he left Delhi." Tod encouraged the reclamation of Bhilwara by special concessions to merchants. See *Annals of Mewar*, Ch. XVIII.

[8] This district was inhabited by a wild race, which was nominally subject to Mewar and Marwar, but which paid no revenue to either of these

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expanding commercial duties,[9] says Tod, an income was derived "sufficient for the comforts, and even the dignities of the prince and his court, and promising an annual increase in the ratio of good government: but profusion scattered all that industry and ingenuity could collect; the artificial wants of the prince perpetuated the real necessities of the peasant, and this, it is to be feared, will continue till the present generation shall sleep with their forefathers."

Indeed, Tod's efforts to restore the prosperity of Mewar were frustrated largely by the opposition of those for whom he laboured. The Rana was not only inefficient and averse to business. Tod says, "Vain shows, frivolous amusements, and an ill-regulated liberality alone occupied him...He had little steadiness of purpose, and was particularly obnoxious to female influence."[10] The Rana's daily allowance for household expenses amounted to Rs. 1000. This sum was paid by a banker, who was guaranteed the amount, together with 18 per cent interest, by the Political Agent. "With the prodigality usual in a Native Prince, the Rana, to extend this allowance to the utmost, endeavoured to burden the State accounts with items which ought to have been defrayed out of the liberal income furnished to him. Instead of this, he sent to the districts which had been set apart for the payment of the tribute, extra establishments, as a means of providing for needy dependents and

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States. In 1819-20 British troops suppressed a rebellion of the Mhairs, and the district was taken under British management. On May 18, 1823, Sir David Ochterlony wrote to the Political Agent in Mewar that, if the Rana did not agree to transfer his share in Mhairwara to British management, the Rana's officers in that district would be forcibly expelled. This unnecessary offence to the Rana was not justified by the Supreme Government. Metcalfe observed, "The mode of transfer has occasioned the Governor-General much concern, as being totally at variance with the instructions, the wishes, and the views of Government..." But the transfer was an accomplished fact.

[9] Several other sources of wealth in Mewar remained untouched. Tod says, "The tin mines of Jawara and Dureeba alone, little more than half a century ago, yielded above three lacs annually; besides rich copper mines in various parts....The miners are now dead, and the mines filled with water. An attempt was made to work them, but it was so unprofitable that the design was soon abandoned." What Tod calls the tin mines are probably the lead and zinc mines at the village of Jawar, 16 miles south of Udaipur, which were discovered towards the end of the fourteenth century. They were worked till the great famine of 1812-13, and are said to have yielded up to 1766 a net annual revenue of about two *lakhs*.

[10] There may be some truth in the following statement of Brookes: "It is probable that the very state of dependence, in which the Rana was placed, chafed his spirit, and induced many of those evils of which the Agent complained." (*History of Meywar*, p. 27).

followers, and to make up the deficiency, other Pergunnahs had to be assigned."[11] Even when the Rana agreed to measures suggested by Tod, they were thwarted by the ladies in the household. "Every man too in the city", the Agent complained, "from the pettiest cloth-seller to the Rana, discusses public affairs, and every person from the *Pradhan* to the *Passwan* who drives away the flies, assumes the privilege of giving advice."

In 1821 Tod, acting under the instructions of the Supreme Government, began to relax his control over the internal administration of Mewar. Next year he left India, making over charge of his office to his assistant, Captain Waugh. The British guarantee to the banker who paid the Rana's allowance for household expenses was withdrawn. The banker stopped payment. The unfortunate Rana had to pawn his jewels and silver sticks. His horses and elephants seldom got their rations more than twice per week. The Rana believed that the cancellation of the old arrangement was due to the intrigues of his Minister, Shah Shewlal, who exercised considerable influence over the new Agent. He dismissed the Minister, who was, however, restored at the insistence of Captain Waugh and Sir David Ochterlony.[12] Although Article 9 of the treaty recognised the Rana as the 'absolute ruler of his own country', he was not free even to dismiss an obnoxious Minister.

Captain Cobbe worked as Political Agent in Mewar for a fairly long period (April, 1823—January, 1831). On his arrival at Udaipur he found confusion all around.[13] The Rana's interference in the administration of the State and the collection of the taxes had disorganised everything. Captain Cobbe reported, "The Rana regards his debt as a mere nominal obligation, and the exaction of tribute, a great hardship. The Government is a tissue of cheating and oppression: from the Prince to the peasant, all are robbers." The arrears of tribute due to the British Government amounted to Rs. 7,90,747, besides that for the current year 1822-23. Once again the Political Agent assumed complete control over the internal administration of Mewar. For his household expenses the Rana was to receive, as before, Rs. 1000 per day, paid by a banker under British guarantee, on which interest at 18 per cent, was charged. Thus Tod's system was revived within little more than a year after his departure. Under Captain Cobbe's management the financial position of Mewar improved.[14] For the regular payment of the tribute and for the liquidation of arrears certain *parganas* were reserved.

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[11] *History of Meywar*, p. 28.

[12] Ochterlony to Political Agent, Mewar, May 10, 1823.

[13] Cobbe to Ochterlony, September 21, 1823.

[14] Cobbe to Resident at Delhi, February 28, 1825; March, 1826.

In November, 1826, Captain Cobbe went on temporary leave, and Captain Sutherland officiated as Political Agent in Mewar for one month. He proposed that the tribute payable to the Company should be a fixed amount, and not a fluctuating sum dependent on the realisation of the revenues, for the system of enquiry it necessitated was injurious to the dignity and interests of Mewar. He also proposed that the districts reserved for payment of tribute should be restored to the Rana. These proposals were approved by Sir Charles Metcalfe, Resident at Delhi, who expressed the hope that "eight or nine years of our protection will at least have operated so far beneficially, as to enable us to permit the Rana to rule his own dominions."[15]

About this time Metcalfe visited Udaipur. The Rana presented him a memorandum of 10 Articles. The first Article expressed the Rana's desire that the tribute should be reduced to a fixed sum. Metcalfe recommended to the Supreme Government that the tribute should be fixed at Rs. 3,00,000 a year. He was aware that the British Government would lose largely if Mewar ever acquired the wealth which her soil was capable of producing; but he thought it was desirable to put an end to the vexatious system of scrutiny and interference. The second Article demanded a reduction from the arrears of tribute. Metcalfe disapproved this demand and suggested that the arrears might be paid in instalments, or the Rana might raise a loan for this purpose under British guarantee. The Rana's third request was that his administrative authority should be restored. Metcalfe observed, "This is his undoubted right. A part of the country has been under the management of our Agent, together with the whole of the revenue from customs, as pledges for the payment of our tribute. Throughout the remainder of the country, chuprassies have been stationed in every village, bearing the badges of the British Agent,[16] badges also of the insignificance and subjection of the nominal sovereign". The Rana's fourth request related to the exorbitant interest changed by the banker who provided the allowance for his household expenses. A new banker was found, who did not charge more than 6 per cent. The remaining Articles referred to the Bhil country,[17] Mhairwara, restoration of the lost portions of the ancient territories of Mewar, etc. No definite decision was formed by Metcalfe on any of these points, although he granted the Rana's desire (Article 10) that an Agent representing Mewar might reside with the Resident at Delhi. On the whole, Metcalfe was quite satisfied with his visit and formed a high opinion about the heir-apparent.[18]

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[15] Metcalfe to Sutherland, December 8, 1826.

[16] Captain Sutherland recommended the withdrawal of these badged servants in his letter to the Resident at Delhi, November 13, 1826.

[17] British officers had no clear idea about the relations of the Bhils with the Rajput *Thakurs* and the Rana of Mewar. The Bhils realised, by prescrip-

On his return from leave in December, 1826, Captain Cobbe gave effect to the policy of Captain Sutherland and Sir Charles Metcalfe. The *chuprassies* were recalled: the reserved *parganas* were made over to the Rana. Indeed, the interference of the Political Agent in the internal affairs of the State was 'completely and finally withdrawn'. The immediate results were not very satisfactory: neither the Rana nor his Ministers and officers could make a proper use of the liberty suddenly conferred upon them. Shah Shewlal was dismissed in 1824, re-instated in 1826, and dismissed again in 1827. The Political Agent reported to the Resident at Delhi "on the oppressions committed by the Kamdars of the minister, by the revival of obsolete or liquidated claims, and the renewal of old causes, civil and criminal, formerly investigated". The Rana's orders were not obeyed by the *Kamdars*, who considered themselves as the servants of the Minister. Robberies were 'of almost endless occurrence': two or three cases occurred daily in the town of Udaipur.[19] Rana Bhim Singh died on March 31, 1828, and was succeeded by his son, Jowan Singh. He died ten years later (August 30, 1838). In his youth he

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tive right rather than by legal authority conferred by the Rana, certain taxes on their neighbours. (1) *Bolai* or tax levied on the transit of commodities and travellers, for whose safety the Bhils assumed responsibility; (2) *Ruck*-[illegible] or blackmail, paid by villagers to neighbouring Bhil communities, as a protection against plunder., Those Rajput chiefs who had received grants of Bhil villages were entitled to a share (*Bishwah*) of the *Bolai*. Soon after his arrival at Udaipur Tod, with the purpose of increasing the Rana's revenues and encouraging trade, tried to resumo these taxes. The Bhils naturally refused to surrender their income and prescriptive right, and they were screened by the Rajput *Thakurs* who were simultaneously threatened with the loss of their *Bishwah*. The Rana punished these *Thakurs* by confiscating their lands, but it was difficult to control the plundering Bhils who were responsible for many robberies and local disturbances. In 1823 British troops were employed against the Bhils, but permanent peace could not be established. In a despatch dated November 10, 1824, the Court of Directors laid down a cautious policy: "...before our own troops are employed in reducing the refractory subjects of princes in alliance with us, the circumstances under which application is made for their interference should be clearly investigated". Two years later Metcalfe wrote to the Political Agent in Mewar (January 27, 1827): "To engage in the suppression by force, of disturbances which have been excited by oppression or misrule, is a most unsatisfactory proceeding." But the policy of sending British troops against refractory Bhils was continued for several years. The formation of the Mewar Bhil Corps in 1841 marked the beginning of a new order in the Bhil country.

[18] Metcalfe to Secretary to Supreme Government, December 26, 1826.

[19] Captain Cobbe to Resident at Delhi, June, 1827.

was a promising prince. Metcalfe wrote about him in 1826: "The heir-apparent is a prince in appearance, and a gentleman in manners. He bears a high character, and manages his own affairs well".[20] After his accession, however, he sank into debauchery and intoxication. "The expenses of his court soon doubled those of his father, and did not fall short of Rs. 50, 000 a month. From the effects of bad Government, the land revenue rapidly declined".[21]

Such was the condition of Mewar after her submission to the East India Company. Her misery was largely due to the vicissitudes through which she had passed in the eighteenth century,[22] and her rulers were obviously unworthy successors of their great ancestors. But a close study of contemporary British official documents seems to make it clear that the new political system which she entered in 1818 was to some extent responsible for her distress. The Rana was protected against external invasions and internal rebellions; but he could not choose his own Ministers, British *chuprassies* realised revenues in his territories, and he had to depend upon the favour of the Political Agent for the supply of his household expenses. Such conditions do not strengthen the character and sharpen the sense of responsibility of rulers of men. Nor did the restrictions imposed upon the nobles of Mewar by zealous Political Agents make them better guardians of the interests of the State. A medieval political organisation dominated by semi-feudal ideas[23] could not be transformed into a modern benevolent bureaucracy in the course of a few years by the half-hearted application of inconsistent remedies. The condition of Mewar in the years following the treaty illustrates the truth of Sidney Owen's observations: "...the native Prince being guaranteed in the possession of his dominions, but deprived of so many of the essential attributes of sovereignty, sinks in his own esteem, and loses that stimulus to good government, which is supplied by the fear of rebellion and deposition. He becomes a *roi faineant*, a sensualist, an extortionate miser, or a careless and lax ruler....The higher classes, coerced by external ascendancy, in turn lose their self-respect, and degenerate like their master; the people groan under a complicated oppression which is irremediable."

Anil Chandra Banerjee

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[20] Metcalfe to Secretary to Supreme Government, December 26, 1826.
[21] Brookes, *History of Meywar*, p. 35.
[22] See A. C. Banerjee, *Rajput Studies*, pp. 143-161.
[23] See A. C. Banerjee, *Rajput Studies*, pp. 127-141.

# Some Royal Poets of the Vākāṭaka Age

It is well known that in the fourth and fifth centuries A. D. Sanskrit literature prospered as it had never done before. This was no doubt mainly due to the liberal patronage which the Gupta kings extended to Sanskrit authors at their court. Some of these kings were themselves poets of no mean order. From the Allahabad stone pillar inscription of Hariṣeṇa we learn that the great Gupta emperor Samudragupta had obtained the title of *Kavirāja*, 'King of poets', by his several poetical compositions which even learned men found fit to draw upon.[1] His son Candragupta II—Vikramāditya was probably the author of several *subhāṣitas* current under the name of Vikramāditya, collected in some Sanskrit anthologies.[2] According to a tradition recorded by Rājaśekhara, he submitted himself to a test in the assembly of learned men at Ujjaini.[3] When the kings themselves took such active interest in poetry, it is no wonder that their officers and subjects also did likewise.[4] Some of the officers of the Guptas are known to have been poets. Besides Hariṣeṇa, the famous author of the Allahabad *praśasti* of Samudragupta, who held the high offices of *Sāndhivigrahika*, *Kumārāmātya* and *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* during the reign of Samudragupta, we know of Śāba of the Kautsa family, who also was *Sāndhivigrahika* and accompanied the Emperor Candragupta II during his *digvijaya*. He is described as a poet of Pāṭaliputra in the Udayagiri cave inscription.[5] Several other princes and officers must have similarly distinguished themselves in that age by their practice of the poetic art.

This state of things was not confined to the North. In the South also, poetry as well as other fine arts flourished at the Vākāṭaka court. The Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena II is the reputed author of the Prakrit *kāvya Setubandha* or *Rāvaṇavaho*. According to some scholars this Pravarasena was Pravarasena II of Kashmir and the *kāvya* was composed to commemorate a bridge of boats constructed across the river Vitastā.[6] This theory is however untenable; for the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* which mentions the construction of the bridge makes no reference to this *kāvya.*[7] Rāmadāsa, a commentator of that work, has, on the other hand, recorded the tradition that the *kāvya* was actually composed by Kālidāsa who ascribed it to Pravarasena by the order of Vikramāditya. This tradition can be satisfactorily explained only if this Pravarasena is identified with Pravarasena II of the Vākāṭaka dynasty; for the latter was the daughter's son of Candragupta II—Vikramāditya. We know that the famous Sanskrit poet Kālidāsa was patronised by Candragupta II and that he composed his *Meghadūta* at Rāmagiri which is undoubtedly modern Rāmṭek near Nagpur, about two miles from the then Vākāṭaka capital Nandivardhana.[8] It is not therefore unlikely that Kālidāsa helped his patron's daughter's son Pravarasena II in composing this *kāvya* during his sojourn in Vidarbha. This also explains the tradition preserved by Rāmadāsa, that Pravarasena was called Bhojadeva[9]; for Bhoja was the name of the ancient dynasty of Vidarbha.

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[1] Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 8. Fleet's translation of *vidvaj-janopajīvy-āneka-kāvya-kriyābhiḥ* as 'by various poetical compositions that were fit to be the means of subsistence of learned men' does not appear to be correct.

[2] *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya* ed. by F. W. Thomas, Intro. pp. 150f.

[3] Rājaśekhara, *Kāvyamīmāṃsā* (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Ist ed.), pp. 105 f.

[4] Cf. राजनि कवौ सर्वो लोकः कविः स्यात *Ibid.*, p. 54.

[5] Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 35.

The *Setubandha* is highly praised by Sanskrit poets and rhetoricians. Daṇḍin, the famous author of the *Kāvyādarśa,* calls it 'a mine of gems in the form of good sayings.'[10] Bāṇa, says in his *Harṣacarita* that by means of the *Setu* (i. e., *Setubandha*) the fame of Pravarasena crossed the ocean as the army of monkeys had done before by means of the bridge (of Rāma).[11] Ānandavardhana, the famous critic of the ninth century A. D., bestows high praise on the section of the *kāvya* which describes how Sītā was overwhelmed by grief at the sight of the illusory head of Rāma.[12]

Pravarasena II wrote, besides this *kāvya,* stray Prakrit verses, some of which are collected in the well-known Prakrit anthology *Sattasaī* (*Gāthāsaptaśatī*). According to the commentary of Gaṅgādhara, Pravarasena was the author of the three verses 64, 202, and 208.[13] The recently published commentary of Pītāmbara ascribes two more *gāthās*, viz., 481 and 565, to the royal author.[14] The *Gāthāsaptaśatī* was undoubtedly composed in South India, for many of its verses refer to the Godāvarī river and the Vindhya mountain.[15] It is traditionally ascribed to the Sātavāhana king Hāla, but as Weber pointed out long ago, the work has come down to us in six or seven recensions. Only 430 verses are common to all recensions and they may have been the original kernel of the anthology.[16] Several additions may have been made to it from time to time. It should not therefore cause any surprise if it is found to contain some verses of the Vākāṭaka Pravarasena II who flourished about 350 years after Hāla, the reputed author of the anthology.[17]

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[6] Macdonell, *History of Sanskrit Literature,* pp. 331-32. Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature,* pp. 132 f.

[7] *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, III, 354.

[8] Mirashi, 'Location of Rāmagiri' (*Nagpur University Journal,* No. 9, pp. 9 f.)

[9] *Setubandha,* I, 9.

[10] *Kāvyādarśa,* I, 34.

[11] *Harṣacarita.* I, 14.

[12] *Dhvanyāloka* (Nirṇayasāgara ed. 1911), p. 148. Ānandavardhana says that the figures of sense (arthālaṅkāras) vied with one another in pressing themselves on the attention of Pravarasena while his mind was engrossed in describing the pathetic scene.

[13] See the Index to the *gāthās* in the *Sattasaī* (Nirṇayasāgara ed. 1911) pp. 1 f.

Pravarasena II is the only Vākāṭaka king known so far who is credited with poetic composition. He belonged to the eldest branch of the Vākāṭaka dynasty which ruled first from Nandivardhana[18] and subsequently from Pravarapura[19] and Padmapura.[20] Pravarasena II's elder brother was Divākarasena who came to the throne while still a boy owing to the early-death of his father Rūdrasena II and who is therefore mentioned as *Yuvarāja* Divākarasena in the Poona plates of Prabhāvatīguptā, his mother who was acting as Regent.[21] The *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* of Śrīdharadāsa (II,31,4) cites a Sanskrit *subhāṣita* of Yuvarāja Divākara who may be identical with the Vākāṭaka boy-prince Divākarasena as suggested by Dr. D. C. Sircar.[22]

Both Pravarasena II and Divākarasena were descended from Gautamīputra, the eldest son of the *Samrāṭ* Pravarasena I. The Purāṇas tell us that Pravīra, the son of Vindhyaśakti, who is plainly identical with Pravarasena I, the son of Vindhyaśakti, the founder of the Vākāṭaka dynasty, had four sons all of whom ruled after him.[23] It seems therefore that the extensive empire of Pravarasena I was divided among his sons after his death. The eldest branch established itself at Nandivardhana and ruled over Northern Vidarbha. The second son Sarvasena founded a separate principality which he ruled from Vatsagulma, modern Bāsim in the Akola District. The name of this prince as well as of his son Vindhyaśakti II came to light only recently when the Bāsim plates were discovered.[24] These names have subsequently been read in an inscription in cave XVI at Ajaṇṭā.[25]

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[14] See *Gāthāsaptaśatīprakāśikā* (*Sattasaī* with the com. of Pītāmbara) ed. by Prof. Jagdish Lal, pp. 50 and 64. The numbers of the *gāthās* cited in this article are according to the Nirṇayasāgara ed. of the *Sattasaī*. Pītāmbara numbers these verses as 493 and 566.

[15] The *Vājjālagga* also states that Hāla was ruling at Pratiṣṭhāna in the Godāvarī valley. See v. 468.

[16] Winternitz, *Geschichete der indischen Litteratur*, p. 130.

[17] V. Smith places Hāla in *circa* A.D. 50 (*Early History of India*, 1914), pp. 216 f. Pravarasena II flourished about A.D. 400.

[18] *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXVI, p. 159.

[19] *Ibid.*, vol. XXIII, p. 85.

[20] *Ibid.*, vol. XXII, p. 212.

[21] *Ibid.*, vol. XV, p. 41.

[22] *Ind. Cul.*, vol. VI, p. 478.

[23] Pargitar, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 50.

One Sarvasena has long been known as the author of a *kāvya* named *Harivijaya* referred to in Ānandavardhana's *Dhvanyāloka*.[26] Ānandavardhana states that Sarvasena had altered the original story and introduced some imaginary incidents in it in order to make it suitable for the delineation of the intended sentiment.[27] Ānandavardhana does not state what the story was, but here his commentator Abhinavagupta comes to our help. He states that the *Harivijaya* had for its theme the removal of the Pārijāta tree from heaven which was done by Kṛṣṇa for the appeasement of his wife (evidently Satyabhāmā).[28] Elsewhere Ānandavardhana cites a Prakrit verse from the *Harivijaya* which must have been identical with this work of Sarvasena.[29] This further shows that the work was written in the Mahārāṣṭrī dialect. Some other Prakrit verses in the *Dhvanyāloka* seem to have been taken from the same work though this has not been explicitly stated by Ānandavardhana. For instance, the verse *sajjei surahi-māso* etc. which he has cited in more than one place as descriptive of the vernal season is also probably taken from the *Harivijaya*.[30]

The next writer who mentions Sarvasena is Kuntaka, the famous author of the *Vakroktijīvita*. He classes Sarvasena with Kālidāsa among writers of the *sukumāra-mārga* (elegant style).[31] Bhoja, the

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[24] *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXVI, p. 151.

[25] Mirashi, *Vākāṭaka Inscription in Cave XVI at Ajaṇṭā* (Hyderabad Arch. Series. No. 14).

[26] *Dhvanyāloka*, pp. 128, 148. See Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum*, vol. I, p. 703. Aufrecht mentions another work *Yaśodharacaritra of* Sarvasena on the authority of Bhandarkar's *Fourth Report*, No. 307, but the correct name of the author is Vāsavasena, not Sarvasena. See Velankar, *Jinaratnakośa*, p. 320.

[27] As the *Kāvya* has not come down to us, it is not possible to specify the incidents, but one of them may have been the sending of Sātyaki to Indra as a *nisṛṣṭārtha dūta* i. e. a Commissioner with full powers of negotiation. See below, p.

[28] Cf. हरिविजये कान्तानुनयाङ्गत्वेन पारिजातहरणादिनिरूपितमितिहासेष्वदृष्टमपि p. 148.

[29] *Dhvanyāloka*, p. 127.

[30] *Ibid.*, pp. 106, 236. This verse, like that on p. 127, is also descriptive of spring, and as shown below, the *Harivijaya* did contain a description of that season.

[31] Cf. सहजसौकुमार्यसुभगानि कालिदाससर्वसेनादीनां काव्यानि दृश्यन्ते । *Vakroktijīvita*, ed. by S. K. De (second ed.), p. 71.

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author of the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* cites two Prakrit verses which from their contents appear to have been taken from the *Harivijaya*.[32] The first of these states why Satyabhāmā alone in the midst of all other wives of Kṛṣṇa got enraged by humiliation (when the Pārijāta flowers obtained from heaven were presented by Kṛṣṇa to Rukmiṇī). The second verse seems to have been addressed by Kṛṣṇa to Satyabhāmā. Says he, 'If I had appeased you who had become enraged by (the presentation of) flowers (to Rukmiṇī), by presenting the same flowers to you it would not have been in keeping with either my love for you or my offence against you. (Hence I am presenting you with the Pārijāta tree itself).' In his other work *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* Bhoja cites several verses from the *Harivijaya*. In the *prakāśas* XXII-XXIV which were published in 1926, as many as six have been quoted from that *kāvya* as stated by the editor in the Index of the Prakrit verses of those chapters. Several more verses must have been cited in the other chapters which still remain unpublished.

Hemacandra, the Jain polymath, has referred to the *Harivijaya* in several places in his *vivṛti* on the *Alaṅkāracūḍāmaṇi* which give us several bits of interesting information. For instance he tells us that like the *Setubandha*, the *Harivijaya* was throughout written in one metre (viz. *skandhaka*) and that the verses in the *galitaka* metre found therein were later interpolations.[33] The last verse of each canto contained the word *utsāha* even as that in the *āśvāsas* of the *Setubandha* contains *anurāga*.[34] Its theme, as stated above, was the

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[32] *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* (Nirṇayasāgara ed., 1934), pp. 647 and 655. Anandaram Borooah, the editor of the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* thought that these verses were taken from a poem named *Satyabhāmāsaṃvāda* or a similar poem on the same subject. But Pischel conjectured that they might have been taken from Sarvasena's *Harivijaya* or Vākpatirāja's *Madhumathanavijaya*. (See *Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen*, p. 12). What the theme of the latter *kāvya* was is not definitely known. From the *Dhanyāloka*, p. 152 and Abhinavagupta's comments thereon, it appears to have been some incident in Kṛṣṇa's life leading to his separation from Rukmiṇī. There is no clear indication that it had anything to do with Satyabhāmā. The verses were therefore probably taken from Sarvasena's *Harivijaya*. This conjecture receives confirmation from Bhoja's *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, which specifically refers the verse *Kuviā a Saccahāmā* etc., to Sarvasena's *Harivijaya*. (See *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa*, Chs. XXII-XXIV, ed. by Yatirājasvāmin, Index of Prakrit verses, p. xvii.). See Hemacandra's *Kāvyānuśāsana* ed. by Rasik Lal.

[33] रावणविजयहरिविजयसेतुबन्धादिष्वादितः समाप्तिपर्यन्तमेकमेव छन्दो भवतीति। गलितकानि तु तत्र कैश्चिद् विदग्धमानिभिः क्षिप्तानीति तद्विदो भाषन्ते। pp. 461 f.

[34] उत्साहः सर्वसेनस्य। p. 457.

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forcible removal of the Pārijāta tree by subduing Indra, the lord of heaven, for the appeasement of Satyabhāmā.[35] It seems that Kṛṣṇa had first sent Sātyaki to Indra as a *nisṛṣṭārtha dūta* i.e., as a Commissioner invested with full powers of negotiation.[36] Like other *mahākāvyas* it contained the description of the city (Dvārakā),[37] the hero[38] (Kṛṣṇa), the season spring,[39] sunset,[40] horses, elephants, etc,[41]. drinking parties[42] and so forth. Ultimately, Kṛṣṇa invaded heaven, vanquished Indra and forced him to part with the celestial tree, Pārijāta, which he presented to Satyabhāmā to appease her anger.

That this Sarvasena, the author of the *Harivijaya*, was a *king* is known from a mutilated verse in the recently discovered *Avantisundarīkathā* of Daṇḍin.[43] The order in which the several authors are eulogised in the introductory verses of this prose romance seems to be chronological. In these verses Sarvasena the author of the *Harivijaya* is mentioned *after* Bhāsa and *before* the author (or authors) of the *Setu* (i.e. *Setubandha*) and Kālidāsa. As shown below, this is also the chronological position of the king Sarvasena.

History knows of only one king of this name viz. the Vākāṭaka king Sarvasena, the son of Pravarasena I, who founded the Vatsagulma branch of the Vākāṭaka dynasty and flourished in *circa* A.D. 330-355. He must therefore have been the author of this *kāvya*.

The *Harivijaya* is perhaps the earliest Prakrit *kāvya* known so far[44] for Sarvasena flourished five generations earlier than Pravarasena II,

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35 प्रयाणं···अभिमतार्थस्य सिद्धये यथा विष्णोः पारिजाताहरणाय हरिविजये ।

36 निसृष्टार्थे यथा...हरिविजये वा सात्यकिः । p. 458.

37 नगरवर्णनं हरिविजय...कुमारसम्भवादौ । *loc. cit.*

38 नायकवर्णनं हरिविजय...रघुवंशादौ । *loc. cit.*

39 तत्र ऋतुवर्णनं शरद्वसन्तग्रीष्मवर्षादिवर्णनानि सेतुबन्धहरिविजयरघुवंशहरिवंशादौ । *loc. cit.*

40. अर्कास्तमयवर्णनं कुमारसम्भवहरिविजयरावणविजयसेतुबन्धादौ । *loc. cit.*

41 वाहनवर्णनेत्यादिना हस्त्यश्वगरुत्मत्पुष्पकादिवर्णनानि हरिविजयरावणविजयादौ । *loc. cit.*

42 मधुपानं द्विधा गोष्ठीगृहे वासभवने च । तत्राद्यं हरिविजये
शिशुपालवधे च । *loc. cit.*

43 राज्ञा श्रीसर्वसेने[न]......................।
..............................विजयं हरेः ॥ *Avantisundarīkathā*, p. 2.

44. The *Paumacariya* of Vimalasūri was, according to a statement in that work, composed in the year 530 after the *Nirvāṇa* of Mahāvīra, i.e., in A.D. 4, but this date is regarded as doubtful. Prof. Jacobi places the *kāvya* 'in the third century A.D. or somewhat later.'

the author, of the *Setubandha*. It fully conformed to the norm of the *Mahākāvya* and seems to have served as a model for the Sanskrit and Prakrit *kāvyas* of Kālidāsa and Pravarasena II who flourished in a later age.

The *Harivijaya* seems to have been current in India down to the twelfth century A.D.; for Daṇḍin (7th cent.,) Ānandavardhana (9th cent.), Kuntaka (10th cent.), Bhoja (11th cent.) Abhinavagupta (11th cent.) and Hemacandra (12th cent.) either refer to Sarvasena or his work by name or cite verses and refer to incidents in that *kāvya*. I have not seen references to it in later works. From the inquiries made of Dr. Raghavan and Mr. P. K. Gode, I learn that no manuscripts of it exist in the Madras and Poona collections. It was therefore an agreeable surprise to me when I found that a manuscript of it was listed by R. B. Hiralal in his *Catalogue of Manuscripts in C. P. and Berar* and that the work was reported to exist in the collections of manuscripts in the possession of the Bhonsla Rajas of Nagpur[45] which happens to be at present my place of residence also. I therefore eagerly sought permission of the Senior and Junior Bhonsla Rajas of Nagpur to search for this manuscript in their collections, which they readily granted. To my great disappointment, I found, however, that the work listed by Hiralal as of Sarvasena is only the Marathi poetical work of Śrīdhara who flourished in the beginning of the 18th century. R. B. Hiralal does not seem to have seen the manuscript himself. As in several other cases, he appears to have obtained the name of this manuscript from the Pandit employed by him to inspect and report about the manuscripts in the Bhonsla collections. Thinking it to be a Sanskrit work he seems to have ascribed it to Sarvasena with the help of Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum*[46]. I cannot however account for R. B. Hiralal's statement in the Introduction (p. lv) to his *Catalogue* that the work has *double entendre*, describing the victory of Hari while the same text directs the movement in chess-play. Nearly a dozen Prakrit verses from the *Harivijaya* are cited in the *Dhvanyāloka* and other works as shown above, but none of them seem to contain any such *double entendre*, apart from the improbability of an early *kāvya* like it containing such artificiality. Let us hope that the information about this *kāvya* collected in the present article will lead to its discovery at some future date.

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[45] See his *Catalogue*, No. 6864, p. 613. In the Introduction p. 10. R. B. Hiralal draws attention to the importance of this work and says that by means of double entendre it described the victory of Hari and also directed the movements in chess play.

[46] That the work did not exist even earlier in the Collections of the Bhonsla Rajas is shown by the fact that it does not find mention in the earlier *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Central Provinces* edited by Dr. Kielhorn and published in 1874. No MSS. have been added to the collections of the Bhonslas since that time. Kielhorn's *Catalogue* mentions some Prakrit as well as Sanskrit works,

Like Pravarasena II, Sarvasena also seems to have composed some Prakrit *gāthās*. Gaṅgādharabhaṭṭa whose commentary has been published in the Nirṇayasāgara edition of the *Sattasaī* does not name Sarvasena among the known authors of the *gāthās*, but as Weber has shown, another commentator Bhuvanapāla ascribes two verses viz. 217 and 234 to him.[47] Pītāmbara, a third commentator whose commentary on the *gāthās* has been published recently, mentions Sarvasena's name in connection with two more verses viz. 504 and 505. The attribution of these *gāthās* to Sarvasena furnishes additional evidence for the identification of that author with the homonymous king who ruled over southern Vidarbha.

During the reign of Sarvasena and his successors Vatsagulma appears to have become a centre of learning and the Prakrit *kāvyas* and *subhāṣitas* composed there evolved a style called Vacchomī (Vātsagulmī) which became a synonym of Vaidarbhī. Rājaśekhara mentions Vacchomī in this sense in the opening verse of his *Karpuramañjarī*.[48]

The existence in the *Sattasaī* of several *Gāthās* composed by the two Vākāṭaka kings Sarvasena and Pravarasena II raises the interesting question whether that anthology contains any other *gāthās* composed by other Vākāṭaka princes. We now possess almost complete lists of the princes of the Nandivardhana and Vatsagulma branches of the Vākāṭaka dynasty. None of these except Pravarasena (II) and Sarvasena figures in the lists of the authors of verses in the *Sattasaī*. But there were two other branches of the family, probably ruling over the country of Kuntala (Southern Maratha Country and Northern Karnāṭaka) south of the Godāvarī. No records of these branches have yet come to light, probably because they were short-lived. They seem to have been crushed out of existence by the Early Rāṣṭrakūṭa family which was founded by Mānāṅka in the upper Kṛṣṇā valley in *circa* A. D. 375.[49] Still as these branches were ruling for about 50 years after the death of

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[47] These numbers refer to the edition of the *Sattasaī* of Hāla by Weber (1881).

[48] *Karpūramañjarī*, Act, I. v. 1.

[49] See my article on the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānapura in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, vol. XXV, pp. 36 ff.

Pravarasena I (A. D. 270-330), they must have produced some Vākāṭaka princes. As the names of the members of the Nandivardhana and Vatsagulma branches invariably end in *sena*, the names of these princes also may have ended in *sena*. The *Gāthāsaptaśatī* mentions five such names viz. Jayasena (v. 170), Makarandasena (vv. 6, 80 and 90), Satyasena (vv. 233 and 298), Mallasena (v. 237) and Vasantasena (v. 323).[50] The conjecture may therefore be hazarded that like Pravarasena and Sarvasena, these five poets also belonged to the Vākāṭaka family. Its corroboration will have to be left to future research.

All these poets wrote in the Mahārāṣṭrī Prakrit. No Sanskrit *kāvyas* of the period have yet come to light. But this does not indicate the total absence of Sanskrit *kāvyas* in that period; for otherwise an early rhetorician like Daṇḍin would not have regarded Vaidarbhī as the best style of poetry. If proof of this were needed, it would be furnished by the following verse cited in the *Dhvanyāloka.*[51] :—

सुरभिसमये प्रवृत्ते सहसा प्रादुर्भवन्ति रमणीयाः ।
रागवतामुत्कलिकाः सहैव सहकारकलिकाभिः ॥

Ānandavardhana says that this Sanskrit verse existed before the Prakrit *gāthā* 'sajjei surahimāso' etc. which, as I have shown above, was probably taken from Sarvasena's *Harivijaya*. That Sanskrit was cultivated in Northern Mahārāṣṭra and Vidarbha in the beginning of the fourth century A. D. is also shown by the Sanskrit copper-plate grants of the Mahārājas Svāmidāsa and Bhuluṇḍa, which are dated in the years 67 and 107 of the Ābhīra era of A.D. 249-50.[52] These dates correspond therefore to A. D. 317 and 352 respectively. Let us hope that the Sanskrit *kāvyas* of the period will also come to light at no distant date.

V. V. MIRASHI

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[50] See Index to verses in the *Gāthāsaptaśati* (Nirṇayasāgara ed., 1911). pp. 1 f. Pītāmbara's commentary ascribes two more verses to Makaranda or Makarandasena, *viz.* 429 and 599.

[51] *Dhvanyāloka* (Nirṇayasāgara ed., 1911) p. 236.

[52] See my article entitled 'An Ancient Dynasty of Khandesh' in the *A.B.O.R.I.*, vol. XXV, pp. 159 f.

# Candra of the Meharauli Pillar Inscription

The Meharauli Iron Pillar Inscription mentions a king named Candra, whose identification has given rise to much controversy, the latest important contribution on the subject being a paper of Dr. R. C. Majumdar in *JRASB.*, 1943, pp. 179 ff. Dr. Majumdar's paper has made a re-study of the whole problem a necessity.

The identifications proposed so far are as follows :—

(1) H. P. Sastri—that Candra of Meharauli is to be identified with Candravarman of Puṣkaraṇa.

(2) S. K. Aiyangar, and R. G. Basak—Candra of Meharauli is identical with Candragupta I.

(3) V. S. Smith, K. P. Jayswal, G. P. Mehta, D. C. Sircar—Candra should be identified with Candragupta II.

(4) Aiyar and H. C. Raychaudhuri—Candra is to be identified with one of the two Nāga rulers, Sadācandra and Candrāṃśa.

(5) Dr. R. C. Majumdar—Candra is identical with Kaniṣka I.

It will help us in appraising correctly the value of the above hypotheses if we bear in mind the facts supplied by the inscription. The inscription supplies us with the following information :—

(1) King Candra, in battle in the Vaṅga country *turned back with his breast the enemies,* who uniting together *came against* him (V. I. *ab.*)

(2) He crossed the seven mouths of the Indus and conquered the Vālhikas (V. I. c.)

(3) By the breezes of his prowess the southern ocean was perfumed even at the time of writing of the inscription (V. I. *d.*)

(4) He enjoyed for a long time sole supreme sovereignty in the world acquired by his own arms. (V. 3 *a*).

(5) The king was a Vaiṣṇava and raised this flag-staff in honour of Viṣṇu (V. 3 *cd*).

The inscription mentions warfare in Bengal and West of the Indus, which suggests that there was no warfare in between. The country comprising roughly of the Eastern Punjab, Delhi, the United provinces and Behar was tranquil and formed the base of operations. Hence it is to be assumed that this entire country formed a part of the empire when the king started on his career of conquest and that the wars were frontier wars. *This last point has generally been ignored by those who have discussed the problem.*

I propose to examine all the hypotheses put forward so far and try to find a solution which should satisfy all the points mentioned above. I shall start with Dr. R. C. Majumdar's view.

H. W. Bailey[1] has drawn attention to a Khotanese manuscript from Tunhuang now in the Pelliot Collection at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. It mentions a legend of one king Candra Kaṇaiska Nauma. The incidents and descriptions recorded make it clear that none else but Kaniṣka I is meant.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar[2] has tried to identify Candra of Meharauli with Kaniṣka I. The reasons adduced by him may be summed up as follows :—

(1) Kaniṣka is known from the Khotanese manuscript to have the name Candra; (2) He alone satisfies the most important test—the conquest of Vāhlika or Bactria; for he certainly ruled over Bactria which neither Candra Varman nor Candragupta I or II, or Candrāṁśa did and the only ruling family in India whose kingdom is known to have included Vāhlika or Bactria is the Kuśāna; (3) As regards Vaṅga, we have no definite information, but the conquest of Vaṅga is not ruled out, for Benares was ruled by his satraps in his third year; secondly there is a tradition to the effect that he attacked and defeated the king of Magadha and carried away Aśvaghoṣa; (4) Kuśāna coins are found in Bengal and Orissa and gold coins of Kaniṣka are found in Tamluk and Mahāsthāngarh, the sites of ancient Tāmralipti and Puṇḍravardhana.

Dr. Majumdar regards the conquest of and rule over Bactria as the most important test. At the outset we must distinguish between conquest and rule. In ancient Indian history conquest was not always followed by rule. There is no doubt about Samudragupta's conquest of the south, but did it imply that the south was included in Samudragupta's dominions? The Meharauli Pillar Inscription nowhere mentions King Candra's rule over the Vālhika. All that it records is that Candra crossed the seven mouths of the Indus and conquered the Vālhikas. There is no doubt that Bactria was included in the Kuṣāna empire and, as I shall show later, Kaniṣka started life, in fact, as the ruler of Vāhlika and it was from there that he started on his career of conquest in India. If Kaniṣka was a king of Balkh from the outset as mentioned in the Khotanese manuscript, the question of the conquest of Balkh does not arise at all.

The arguments that Dr. Majumdar has adduced to prove Kaniṣka's conquest of Bengal are not satisfactory. The Sarnāth Inscription of the third year of Kaniṣka supplies no definite proof that at that time Kaniṣka's rule extended so far as Benares, as there is no evidence that the donors were inhabitants of Kāśī. It is certain that the Sarnāth and Śrāvastī images of the Buddha, set up by Bāla were made by the same master. in the same style and from the same red sandstone of the Agra quarries. "All this points to the conclusion that Bāla of Sarnāth Image Inscription is identical with Bāla of Mathurā Inscription and he brought the image on the occasion of a religious pilgrimage to Sarnāth, the sacred site of Buddhism."[3]

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[1] *J.R.A.S.*, 1942, 14 ff.

[2] *J.R.A.S.B.*, 1943, 179 ff.

Yuan Chwang[4] records that Kaniṣka invaded Magadha, defeated the local king and carried away Aśvaghoṣa as a part of war indemnity. *Śrīdharmapiṭakanidānasūtra* (Chinese translation A. D. 472) further corroborates the above account. The above tradition is one of the evidences quoted by Dr. Majumdar to show that a conquest of Bengal by Kaniṣka is not ruled out. But a successful war in Bengal by Kaniṣka is not proved or even suggested by these Chinese evidences, whereas the Meharauli Pillar makes that war the first feat of Candra. Magadha was evidently included in the empire of Candra, who carried his victorious arms farther east. There is no such evidence for Kaniṣka.

Coins are liable to travel farther from the country in which they were issued. (e.g. Roman coins have been found in India). Mere presence of Kuśāna coins in Bengal and Orissa offers no indication of Kuśāna connection with Bengal. The argument is further weakened when we bear in mind that Tāmralipti and Puṇḍravardhana where the gold coins of Kaniṣka are found were two of the greatest commercial centres of ancient India.

Candra (*candrāhvena*) in the Meharauli Pillar Inscription is clearly the name of the king or the first part of it, whereas in the Khotanese manuscript it appears as a secondary epithet of the Kuśāna king who is known universally as Kaniṣka. This should make us hesitate in accepting the identification of the Meharauli king with Kaniṣka.

But there are still more serious objections against the above identification.

The Khotanese manuscript to which reference has been made above refers to Kaniṣka as the king of Balkh (Bahlaka) in Tokharistan. From this account we gather that Kaniṣka originally was a king of Balkh. At the head of a large army he invaded Jambūdvīpa. Many men and animals lost their lives in this campaign. It was in course of this invasion that he came to Gandhāra which later became the scene of his activities.

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[3] *Ep. Ind.*, V. 8, p. 173.

[4] Watters, vol. II, p. 104.

King Kanika (Kaniṣka ?) mentioned in the Tibetan tradition seems *a priori* to be a member of the royal family of Khotan. According to the *Mahārāja Kanikalekha*, king Kanika of the Kuṣa race, came from a northern country. He undertook his expedition to India in connection with the Guzan king and king Vijayakīrti of Khotan.[5]

Chinese sources[6] tell the same tale. Kumāralāta's *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* has the following account : "In the family of Kinsa there was a king called Chen-tan Kia-m-Cha. He conquered Tung Tin Chou (Eastern India according to Lévi). Lévi believes that Chen-tan is connected with Candana which according to Sarat Chandra Das is an old designation of Khotan in old Tibetan texts. The account further agrees almost in detail with that in the *Mahārāja-Kanikalekha*.

The earliest inscription of Kaniṣka, dated in his first regnal year, is found on the Peshawar relic casket. The next one dated in the third regnal year is found at Sarnāth, in all probability brought from Mathurā. We may conclude with Sten Konow that the natural inference is that Kaniṣka entered India *via* Peshawar country and presumably from Central Asia. The different sources accordingly seem to be in thorough agreement with each other with regard to this point.

In course of his descriptions Yuan Chwang refers to Kaniṣka six times. It is interesting to note that for five times he refers to him in connection with Kapiśā, Gandhāra, Puruṣapura, Kāśmīra and Cīnabhukti (in the Punjab) and only once he refers to him in connection with Magadha and the carrying away of Aśvaghoṣa from there.

An overwhelming majority of Kaniṣka's inscriptions, 9 out of 12, are crowded precisely in the north-west. Most of them are written in Kharoṣṭhī.

Buddhist tradition leaves no room for doubt that Gandhāra or the N. W. Frontier remained the principal scene of all Kaniṣka's activities.

Thus it is clear that not only did he invade India from outside but later even not Mid-India but N. W. Frontier remained his principal seat of government, and the association of India east of Benares with Kaniṣka's rule is most doubtful. Now this is directly contradicted by the Meharauli Pillar Inscription. As I have shown above, an analysis of the Meharauli Pillar Inscription makes it clear that Candra ruled over the country between the Indus and Bengal and it was only in course of his campaigns that he crossed the Indus with its seven mouths and conquered the Vālhikas. Thus the course of the campaign of Kaniṣka and Candra of Meharauli is antithetical. One proceeds from west to east, the other from east to west.

[5] *CII.*, vol. II, part I, p. lxxv.

[6] *CII.*, vol. II, p. lxxv and *IHQ.*, III, 1927, p. 851 ff.

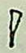
All the sources are agreed on this point that Kaniṣka was converted to Buddhism and remained steadfast in his devotion to Buddhism. All the inscriptions belonging to his reign are Buddhist. Not one is Vaiṣṇava or Hindu in general. As far as the numismatic evidence is concerned we may select the Catalogues of Percy Gardner and Smith as specimens. The two catalogues reveal the following state of affairs:—

| *King* | *No. of Coins* | *Buddhism* | *Saivism* | *Non-Indian* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Kadphises | 40 | ... | ... | 40 | Gardner, *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum.* |
| Kadphises II | 35 | ... | 35 | ... | |
| Kaniṣka I | 75 | 4 | 11 | 60 | |
| Huviṣka | 197 | ... | 33 | 174 | |
| Vāsudeva | 33 | ... | 25 | ... | |
| Kadphises | 24 | ... | ... | 24 | Smith, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, vol. I. |
| Kadphises II | 16 | ... | 16 | ... | |
| Kaniṣka | 78 | 1 | 14 | ... | |

From the above it is clear that Kaniṣka had absolutely nothing to do with the God Viṣṇu. But Candra of Meharauli Pillar Inscription was a devotee of Viṣṇu. This clearly militates against the identification of the two.

The evidence of palaeography is conclusive. I have compared the Meharauli Pillar Inscription with the Kuśāna Inscriptions [Sarnāth Inscription of Yr. 3, 7 Mathurā Inscriptions published by D. R. Sahni (*E. I.* 1919-20), Mathurā Stone Inscription of Huviṣka of the year 28, and Mathurā Pedestal Inscriptions of yr. 14 of Kaniṣka] on the one hand and with the Gupta Inscriptions on the other (Gupta Inscriptions are Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta, Mathurā Inscriptions of Candrgupta II, Bilsaḍ and Mankuwar Inscriptions of Kumāragupta I and Kahaum Inscription of Skandagupta). The letters in the accompanying chart are true copies of the letters in the inscriptions. Even a glance at the chart reveals a wide gulf between the Kuśāna and Meharauli characters and a corresponding similarity between Meharauli and Gupta. Attention may be drawn particularly to the letters *k*, *kh*. *g*, *ṇ*, *bh*, *c*, *ś*, *s*, *h* and *y* in ligatures. In the Kuśāna inscription *kh* is mostly triangular below and its hook is often very small. One of the two horizontal strokes of *ṇ* is always turned into a curve notched in the middle. The horizontal stroke of *n* is mostly curved and very rarely looped. On the other hand both in the Meharauli and the Gupta Inscriptions these letters and specially those mentioned above present very developed and almost similar forms. The hook in the Kuśāna *kh* becomes a vertical stroke on the left. *N* shows a little stroke at the right end. In *th* a cross bar replaces the

## COMPARISON OF THE MEHERAULI SCRIPT WITH KUSHAN AND GUPTA SCRIPTS

| Letters | Kushan (Kaniska, Huviska, Vasudeva) | Meharauli | Gupta | (Specification of Gupta forms and other comparative remarks) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| k | | | | |
| kh | | | | (Mankuwar and Kahaum) |
| g | | | | (More like Mankuwar and Bilsad than Mathurā I.of Candra Gupta II) |
| c | | | | (Kahaum - stationary) |
| j | | | | (Almost stationary) |
| ḍ | | | | |
| ṇ | | | | (Kahaum) |
| t | | | | (Mankuwar) |
| th | | | | |
| d | | | | (Kahaum) |
| dh | | | | (Bilsad - more similar to Mankuwar) |
| n | | | | (Mankuwar and general Gupta form - the type is rare in Kushan) |
| p | | | | (Kahaum) |
| b | | | | (Mankuwar) |
| bh | | | | (Mankuwar) |
| m | | | | (Mankuwar - m̲ in Mathura I.of yr.14 of Kanishka nearer to Gupta ) |
| y | | | | (More like Bilsad than Mankuwar) |
| r |  | | | (Kahaum) |
| l | | | | (Uniformly in all Gupta records) |
| v | | | | |
| ś | | | | (Sometimes acute angle in the left stroke bottom in Meharauli) |
| ṣ | | | | |
| s | | | | (Kushan Inscs. have both forms but one given here more common) |
| h | | | | |

Note :-

(1) Meharauli along with Bilsad has the characteristic thick top lines and very marked mātrās or horizontal top strokes.

(2) The Mathurā inscription of Kaniṣka, year 14, presents some more developed forms, but the characters given here can be regarded as fairly representative of Kuṣānacharacters in the first fifty years of Kaniṣka's era.

*I.H.Q., Sept. 1945*

dot in the centre in Meharauli, Bilsaḍ, Mankuwar and Kahaum. Similarly *bh, l, ś, s* and *h* present much more developed forms in the Meharauli Inscription. It is to be further noted that the characters of Meharauli are more similar to the group, Bilsaḍ (96 G.E.), Mankuwar (129 G.E.) and Kahaum (141 G.E.) than to the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta and the Mathurā Inscriptions of Candragupta II. *Therefore the Meharauli Pillar Inscription must be placed on palaeographic grounds in the first half of the fifth century.*

It may be pointed out further that there is absolutely no evidence of Kaniṣka's having anything to do with the south.

In face of the above it is not possible to accept Dr. R. C. Majumdar's identification of Candra of the Meharauli Pillar Inscription with Kaniṣka I.

Let us now turn to the other identifications proposed so far. The Susunia Hill Inscription[7] mentions Mahārāja Candravarman, son of Siṃhavarman. This Siṃhavarman was identified by MM. H. P. Sastri [8] with Siṃhavarman of the Mandasor Inscription of Naravarman. He concludes that these inscriptions supply us with a king named Candra with the family title *varman* who belonged to Puṣkaraṇa (Jodhpur State) but had dedicated a wheel of Viṣṇu in Bengal. The Meharauli Pillar itself is a *dhvajā* of Viṣṇu. It also records the conquest of Bengal. Hence this Candravarman of Susunia is to be identified with Candra of Meharauli. Mr. Bhattasali [9] by the discovery of the Ghughrahati Inscription of Samācāradeva has tried to lend support to Śāstrijī's view. He believes that since the fort mentioned in the grant is the greatest ancient earthwork of Bengal and secondly Gupta gold coins are found in it, it must belong to some great monarch.

The identification of Siṃhavarman of Susunia with Siṃhavarman of the Mandasor Inscription is conjectural. It rests on the identification of Puṣkaraṇa of Susunia with Puṣkaraṇa of Jodhpur state. Dīkṣit's [10] discovery and identification of this Susunia Puṣkaraṇa with Pokharana on the Damodar, 25 miles north east of Susunia knocks the bottom out of Śāstrijī's theory. Besides Mr. Dīkṣit believes that the characters of Susunia cannot be as early as Meharauli.

Mr. Bhattasāli's arguments lead us nowhere, for it is not improbable that under the peaceful and glorious rule of the Guptas some local vassal of theirs might have built 'this greatest ancient earth-work of Bengal' and the circulation of Gupta gold coins in their own territory is only natural.

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[7] *Ep. Ind.*, V, XVIII. p. 133.

[8] *Ep. Ind.*, XII, 315 f.

[9] *Dacca Review*, vol. X.

[10] *ASIAR. 1827-28.*, p. 188.

Even if Siṃhavarman of Susunia be identical with Siṃhavarman of Malwa, there are serious objections against the identification of Candravarman with Candra of Meharauli. The non-mention of such a powerful monarch in the family records of the Varmans of Malwa creates a doubt. There is no evidence in Rajputana, literary, inscriptional or numismatic, of any great monarch like Candra of Meharauli. Moreover if this Candravarman be identified with Candravarman of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription, as some people imagine, the identification becomes still more indefensible. It is impossible to think of a monarch between Candragupta I and Samudragupta who could overrun India from Balkh to Bengal. Therefore if Candra of Meharauli is to be identified with any non-Gupta monarch, that monarch must come before Candragupta I. We know from the Allahabad Pillar Inscription that pre-Samudragupta India was a land of petty rulers scattered through the length and the breadth of the land. None of these could claim what Meharauli implies, viz. a compact and well knit territory between the Indus and Bengal. Any aggressive ruler from Rajputana was sure to encounter opposition from the powerful Nāgas, the Vākāṭakas, the Yaudheyas and other kings and the tribal republics mentioned in the Allahabad Pillar Inscription. Consequently the identification of Candra of Meharauli with any ruler of Rajputana is untenable. On similar grounds we cannot accept the identification of Candra with Candrāṃśa or Sadācandra. Besides, the evidence of palaeography also is against the above identifications.

If Candragupta I is to be identified with Candra of Meharauli, the following points demand a satisfactory answer :—

(1) Was Candragupta I in a position to wage war in Bengal or across the Indus? (2) Had he the necessary resources for such a campaign on such a vast scale? (3) Is there any evidence of his influence in the south? (4) Did he have Vaiṣṇava leanings?

The Purāṇas describe the Gupta empire as follows :—

अनुगंगं प्रयागं च साकेतं मगधांस्तथा ।

एतान् जनपदान् सर्वान् भोक्ष्यन्ते गुप्तवंशजाः ॥

The verse cannot refer to the Gupta empire under Samudragupta and his successors, who ruled over a very much more extensive territory. The predecessors of Candragupta I were subordinate petty rulers. Hence Allan[11] is right in holding that the verse refers to the dominions of Candragupta I. If the evidence of the spurious Nalanda Plate has any value, Candragupta I was succeeded by

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[11] Allan, *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum, Gupta Coins,* Introduction, p. xix, 16

Samudragupta before 325 A. D. Paucity of his coins and absence of inscriptions lend support to the belief that Candragupta I had only a small kingdom and a short rule. Thus it seems that Candragupta I had only a small kingdom and a short rule. The Vākāṭaka inscriptions invariably call him only a Mahārāja and the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa* begins the list of sovereign Gupta monarchs with Samudragupta. From the Allahabad Pillar Inscription it is clear that he must have had some very formidable contemporaries in the person of the Nāga rulers of Mathurā and Padmāvatī, Acyuta of Ahicchatra and Matila. Any aggressive move towards the Indus was sure to bring all the above kings singly or in combination against him. Further he would have to encounter serious opposition from the warlike tribal states of Yaudheyas, Mālavas, Arjunāyans, Madrakas etc. He could have marched successfully across the Indus only at the cost of the above powers, a fact of which we have not the slightest evidence. He had neither the resources nor the time to support such a vast campaign on those two fronts. His hands must have been already too full with other affairs consequent upon his declaration of independence. That the above mentioned powers remained intact even after his death is beyond doubt as his son had to settle accounts with them as best as he could.

His contemporary on the Vākāṭaka throne was Samrāṭ Pravarasena I, if Rudrasena is to be identified with Rudradeva of the Allahabad Pillar Inscription, Candragupta I could hardly be expected to make any headway in the south against such a strong adversary, specially when he had strong powers and potential enemies near at hand. Thus his association with the south is ruled out. *Yasayādyāpyadhivāsyate jalanidhirvīryānilairddakṣiṇaḥ* surely cannot refer to him. As far his attitude towards Vaiṣṇavism is concerned we are completely in the dark. In view of the above, the identification of Candragupta I with Candra of Meharauli cannot be accepted.

It was formerly believed that Candragupta II had had only little of warfare to his credit. The only known military achievment was the destruction of the Śaka power in Central and Western India, and he was supposed to have a peaceful succession and a still more peaceful reign. If this be so how can we identify him with one who had above all a military career, who carried his victorious arms in Bengal and across the Indus, who acquired *Aikādhirājya* by his own arms, not bequeathed to him peacefully by a great father? But in recent years evidence is accumulating which gives a new complexion to the history of Candragupta II. It was long suspected that Candragupta must have had high military records to his credit or else his epithet *Vikramāditya* or *Sāhasāṅka* loses all meaning. Since the discovery of fragments from the *Devicandra-*

*gupta* of Viśākhadatta and researches of R. D. Banerji, A. S. Altekar, K. P. Jayaswal, and others, the mystery is being cleared up. Candragupta II was not a direct successor to his great father. He was called to the throne under a major military defeat, when everything seemed lost and the Gupta empire was tottering. It seems that the Daivaputraśāhi, Śāhānuśāhi had recovered from the blows administered by the great Samudragupta. Finding a weak, unmanly king on the Magadha throne they attacked him. The tables were turned. *Kanyopāyana* (given to Samudragupta) was fully avenged. It was at this stage that Candragupta comes to the fore. Throwing all thoughts of personal safety to winds he attacked the Śakapati only with a handful of equally fanatic followers. What would have happened if the stratagem had miscarried? Could the title of Sāhasāṅka be more deserved or more dearly earned? But it required a palace revolution also to enable him to get the throne and he could well claim that he acquired the Aikādhirājya with his own hands (*prāptena svabhujārajitaṃ ca* etc. *v.* 4 *a.*) When the palace revolution was complete the young monarch must have tried to redeem the pledge that he must have taken during those dark hours of family misfortune—the destruction of the enemy root and branch. Is it any wonder that he might have resolved to destroy them in their breeding ground—Balkh. His father had completely destroyed even the possible enemies in Āryāvarta and thus had left no thorn in Uttarāpatha. That Candragupta II started on such a campaign is fully borne out by his own inscription. The Udayagiri Inscription of year 82 records his campaign for the conquest of all the earth (*kṛtsnaprithvījayārthena*). Numismatic evidence of his conquest of Kṣatrapa dominions is complete.

At a time when the Gupta empire lay at the feet of the invaders from the west, it is not impossible that the neighbouring kings of Samataṭa, Ḍavāka etc. might have decided to fish in troubled waters. *That the war in Bengal was not of Candra's own seeking, but was rather forced on him by his enemies in Bengal is clear from Meharauli. It records king Candra's turning back (with his own breast of the enemies who uniting together, came against him. (v. I ab)* The position of Candragupta II seems to have been exactly similar. He rose equal to the occasion, defeated them and probably incorporated their territories upto Puṇḍravardhana in his dominions, for we find it in the Gupta empire in the time of Kumāragupta I fully pacified and completely saturated with Gupta administrative organisation. This part of Bengal was not conqurred by Samudragupta, neither do the records of Kumāragupta I mention any such thing, but from the Damodarpur grants it is clear that this part was included in the territory of Kumāragupta I. Here we must emphasise one point. The Meharauli Pillar Inscription expressly refers to wars on the frontiers. The rest of the kingdom seems to be firmly united behind the monarch in this holy cause and only the willing co-operation of his people and the complete resources of a vast empire could have enabled him to wage war on such large dimensions.

Prof. Raychaudhuri draws attention to a large hoard of Gupta coins (1100, majority being of the Garuḍa type of Kumāragupta I) found in the Satara district. Such a large hoard cannot be explained by the existence of commercial intercourse alone. The association of Kuntala with the Guptas does not however begin with Kumāragupta I. It goes back to Candragupta II. Gupta rulers of Banavāsi trace their origin to Candragupta Vikramāditya. If the Halsi grant is dated in the Gupta era, Kakutsthavarman must have been a contemporary of Candragupta II and the Gupta king to whom he gave his daughter in marriage according to Tālaguṇḍa Inscription might be Kumāragupta I. To conclude with Prof. Raychaudhuri, the mention of *Guptapārthiva Kāla*(?) in the Tālaguṇḍa Inscription, the large find at Satara and the records of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Gupta rulers of Banavāsi leave no room for doubt about Candra-Gupta's association with the south, so much so that the kings of the south make it a point to compare their own achievements with the great Gupta monarch. And it may be truly said of Candragupta II "*Yasyādyāpyadhivāsyate jalanidhirvvīrya-nilairddakṣiṇaḥ.*"

Candragupta is called *Paramabhāgavata* invariably in all later family records and in some of his own also. *Paramabhāgavata* is an exclusive Vaiṣṇava title equivalent to *Paramavaiṣṇava*. His devotion to Viṣṇu was so great that he influenced considerably the religious leanings of the later members of the family. The epithet *Paramabhāgavata* is used for Kumāragupta I in his Gadhwa Inscription and in the inscriptions of his son, e.g. at Behar and Bhitari. The Behar Inscription refers to Skandagupta also as *Paramabhāgavata*.

As I have shown above, a comparison of Meharauli characters with Gupta records leaves no room for doubt that the inscription must be placed in the first half of the 5th century. In fact the letters in Meharauli and Mankuwar are almost identical. When placing the letters of the Mankuwar Inscription as traced by me from Fleet's facsimile on the letters of the Meharauli Inscription in Fleet, I was agreeably surprised to find that most of the letters matched exactly in the two epigraphs. Hoernle, the greatest authority on Gupta palaeography according to Smith, seems to be correct when he assigns this record to c. 410 A.D.

Allan[12] raises certain objections to this identification. Firstly,

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[12] *Ibid.* xxxvii, 41.

*Paramabhāgavata* is so stereotyped that its absence and the use of *dhāvena viṣṇau matim* instead is rather an argument against the identification. But we must bear in mind that in the early part of the reign of Candragupta II it must have been an innovation and the question of its being stereotyped could arise only in the latter part of his reign, and in those of his successors. Besides, exigencies of metre must also be taken into consideration. The second objection is that *Vīrya* and not *Vikrama* is used for prowess here. But the writer of Praśasti in verse cannot always use the correct technical word and has often to use synonyms. His third objection is on the ground of the use of the abbreviated name *Candra*. He points out that the occurrence of *Candra* in the field of coins (on the obverse of Flower vase type) is hardly a parallel, as this is probably due to lack of space. But if the mint-master could violate the traditions, which are necessarily more conservative in numismatics, there is no reason why the writer of a Praśasti in verse should not use the abbreviation *Candra* if the exigencies of metre demanded it. In fact occurrence of *Candra* alone on any of the coins of Candragupta II should have provided the clue to the identification of Candra of the Meharauli Pillar Inscription. Absence of genealogy cannot be a valid argument against it. The Udayagiri Cave Inscription of Candragupta II (yr. 82) also omits to mention the genealogy and the imperial titles of the king. Pt. K. Chaṭṭopādhyāya believes that the writer of the Meharauli Pillar Inscription may be identical with Vīrasena alias Śāva of the Udayagiri Inscription which also is in verse. It is interesting to note that verse forms in Indian inscriptions start only with Samudragupta and come into vogue after Candragupta II.

It will appear from all this that the identification of Candra of the Meharauli Pillar Inscription with Candragupta II of the Imperial Gupta family alone accords with all the known facts of Indian history and palaeography and it involves no contradictions.

GOVARDHAN RAI SHARMA

# Taltali Plate of Dharmmamahādevī

This copper-plate was discovered in a place known as Malishahi very near the village Taltali about seven miles from the sub-divisional headquarters of Angul, Cuttack district. It was unearthed at the time of digging the foundation of a house at a depth of about 1½ to 2′. Mr. Radhamohan Gadanayak, a poet and public spirited gentleman of Angul, brought it to the notice of Prof. G. S. Das, the Honorary Secretary of the Provincial Museum, Cuttack, who wanted to acquire it for the Museum. But since the original owner of the plate was unwilling to part with it, it was arranged that it would be returned to him after necessary impressions and photographs are taken for its publication. We are very thankful to Mr. Gadanayak for having afforded us the opportunity of bringing it to light.

It is a single plate measuring 12.2″ × 8″ and containing an inscription of nineteen lines on the obverse and twenty-one lines on the reverse. It has a circular *seal* attached to the left side, which measures 3.4″ in diameter and is superimposed on a conventional full-blown lotus. Inside the medallion, occur in relief the figures of a couchant humped bull flanked with a *cāmara* (chowry) on each side, of a crescent with a star and of conch-shell almost touching its fore and hind parts respectively, while underneath the bull runs in one line the legend of *Śrī Dharmmā-Mahādevyāḥ* underlined with two parallel straight lines and at the bottom occurs, also in relief, the figure of a floral device followed by that of another *cāmara*. The inscription is in good preservation inspite of a crack running through the plate and hindering the process of taking the full impression of the letters involved in it. The letters are deep-cut with an average size of .3″. The plate together with the seal weighs about three pounds.

The letters belong to the northern type of alphabet and closely resemble those of the Angul Plate of Dharmmamahādevī. The text is in Sanskrit written mostly in verse but partly in prose. Some mistakes occurring in it have been corrected in their proper places. The verses are highly ornate and are in a rhetorical style and some of them give two meanings. Except two composed in the *Anuṣṭubh* metre in the lines 18-20, the remaining verses occur in the Angul Plate of Dharmmamahādevī[1] and the Kumurang Plate of Daṇḍimahādevī.[2] Certain changes are, however, to be found here and there in the present plate. We find here, for instance, *vallabha-padā* (l. 17) instead of *gauravapada*,[3] *Bhañja-mahībhṛtāṃ* (l. 19) instead of *kara-mahibhṛtāṃ*,[4] and *Mañjūra-sakta* (l. 21) instead of *mañjīra-lagna*.[5]

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[1] Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, pp. 52 ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 60 ff. and *JBORS.*, vol. V, pp. 564 ff.

As regards orthography the following peculiarities deserve notice (i) *ṇ* has been used for *anusvāra* as in *pūritāṇśa*, l. 10 and vaṇśe, l. 19; (ii) *na* has been employed for *ṇa*, e.g. *nyāyena*, l. 33 and *Uttarāyaṇa* l. 36; (iii) no distinction has been made between *va* and *ba* and medial *u* and *ū*; (iv) in some cases *sandhi* has not been observed e.g. *Karanān Yathārham*, l. 30.

The grant has been issued from the victorious camp Guheśvara-pāṭaka by *Parama-maheśvarī Parama-bhaṭārikā Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvarī Śrī Dharmmamahādevī* of the Kara or Bhauma dynasty. It opens with a description of the charms of Guheśvara-pāṭaka and then poetically refers to the qualities and achievements of the different members of the dynasty up to line 26. The object of the document is set forth in the subsequent lines, which was to record the grant of the village *Taratalo*i situated in the *viṣaya* of *Talámura* on the day of Uttarāyaṇa Saṃkrānti to a Brahmin named Padmanābha, son of Paṇḍita Gadādhara and grandson of Bhaṭṭa Puruṣottama, a resident of *Koṃsala* originally hailing from *Kolāñca*.

The plate bears no date, but the donor was the last of the two successors of Daṇḍimahādevī whose last date so far known is 794 A.D. The record can thus be roughly placed in the first quarter of the ninth century A.D.

The relation of the donor Dharmmāmahādevī to the other members of the Bhauma dynasty is not clear from her Angul Plate, but Pandit B. Misra very rightly conjectured that she might have been the queen of Śāntikaradeva III, the elder brother of Śubhākaradeva IV. This conjecture is substantially borne out by the present charter where she has been described as the queen of Lavanabhāra (l. 20) which must be taken as the Sanskritised form of Lonahāra. An examination of the genealogical table of the Bhauma dynasty reveals that the surnames Lalitahāra, Kusumahāra and Lonahāra have been alternatively borne by the male members of this family since the time of Śāntikaradeva I.[6] The surname of Śāntikaradeva III is not known from the other records of this dynasty, but his two immediate predecessors Śubhākaradeva III and Śivakaradeva III are known to have borne the surnames Kusumahāra II and Lalitahāra II respectively. The surname Lavaṇabhāra or Loṇabhāra of line 20 of this grant must therefore be assigned to Śāntikaradeva III and since the donor has been distinctly described here as the queen of Lavaṇabhāra (l. 20), we have no difficulty now to take her as the wife of Śāntikaradeva III.

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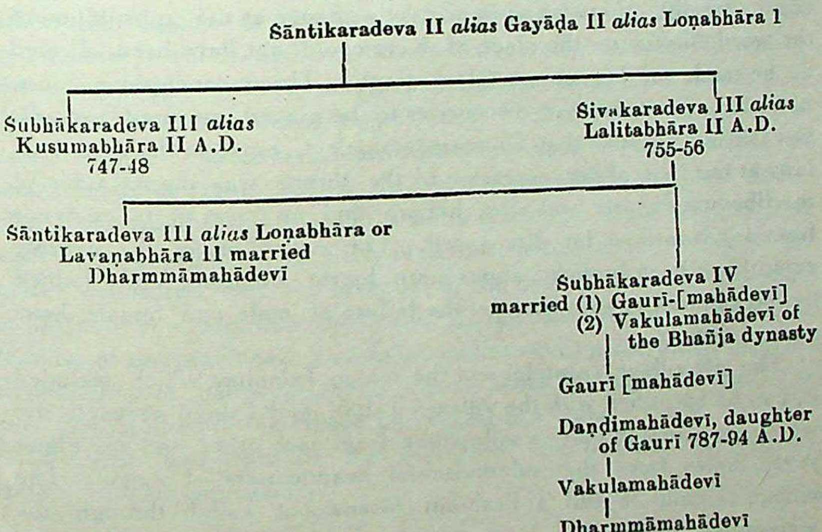
[3] Misra, *op. cit.*, the text l. 17.

[4] *Ibid.*, l. 18.

[5] *Ibid.*, l. 21.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 71.

The chief importance of this record lies in the fact that it clears the difficulties relating to the succession of the later ruling members of the Bhauma dynasty. The Angul Plate of Dharmmāmahādevī gives an impression that she was the immediate successor of Śāntikaradeva III, now proved to be her husband. But the present grant makes it clear beyond any doubt that Daṇḍimahādevī was succeeded by her step-mother Vakulamahādevī of the Bhañja family, who, in her turn, was succeeded by Dharmmāmahādevī, the donor. So with the help of this charter we can reconstruct the later part of the Bhauma genealogy as follows:—


Śāntikaradeva II *alias* Gayāḍa II *alias* Loṇabhāra I
Śubhākaradeva III *alias* Kusumabhāra II A.D. 747-48
Śivakaradeva III *alias* Lalitabhāra II A.D. 755-56
Śāntikaradeva III *alias* Loṇabhāra or Lavaṇabhāra II married Dharmmāmahādevī
Śubhākaradeva IV married (1) Gaurī-[mahādevī] (2) Vakulamahādevī of the Bhañja dynasty
Gaurī [mahādevī]
Daṇḍimahādevī, daughter of Gaurī 787-94 A.D.
Vakulamahādevī
Dharmmāmahādevī

It will be seen from the above genealogical table that four female members successively ruled the Bhauma kingdom after Śubhākaradeva IV who possibly left no male heir to the throne. It will be further seen that Daṇḍimahādevī was succeeded by her step-mother who can be presumed to have been older than her in age and that Vakulamahādevī was similarly succeeded by a female member of the elder branch, who can also be presumed to have been older than her in age. Such an uncommon state of affairs in the succession of the rulers after Daṇḍimahādevī can be attributed either to her premature death without leaving any heir to succeed her or to a course of struggle for succession in which the elder female members of the family with or without the help of outside powers took part to oust her from the throne. There is a hint in the present record which lends support to the latter hypothesis. A verse used by Daṇḍimahādevī in her Kumurang copperplate[7] has been tampered with here and the word *Bhañja* has been substituted in the place of *Kara* making an important difference in its meaning in which prominence has been given to the Bhañja family as being 'lofty' and 'continuous' to the exclusion of the Bhauma dynasty for which these attributes were originally intended (l. 19). It is doubtless that Vakulamahādevī, the step-mother of Daṇḍimahādevī was a daughter of the Bhañja family and it is just possible that her step-motherly jealousy led her to oust her half-daughter from the throne with the help of her father's family. After Vakulamahādevī, Dharmmāmahādevī secured the succession for herself probably with the help of the same agency to the exclusion of the direct descendants of Śubhākaradeva IV. At any rate, Dharmmāmahādevī must have a reason to be grateful to the Bhañja family, otherwise so important a change as the substitution of the word *Bhañja* in the place of *Kara* could not have been allowed to be made in her copper-plate grant. These conclusions must, however, await further discoveries to be placed on surer grounds. But the fact remains that Dharmmāmahādevī, most probably an old lady at the time of her accession to the throne, was the last ruler of the Bhauma dynasty and after her we find no trace of its existence from any record so far discovered. The extinction of the dynasty could have been brought about more by the domestic feuds fanned by the external powers than by the failure of male and female heirs near or distant.

The gift village Tarataloi and the *viṣaya* Talamura which included it, can be identified with the villages Taltali and Talmul respectively, which are situated only a mile apart from each other and are about seven miles from the sub-divisional headquarters of Angul. The village Talmul is still a Brahmin Śāsana but Taltali through the vicissitudes of time has become a purely non-Brahmin village. Of Kolañca and Komsalā mentioned in connection with the origin of the donee, Komsalā can be identified with Kamsarā in Hindol State, a village about three miles from Taltali. Kolañca is mentioned in the Angul Plate of Dharmmāmahādevī as being the place of the origin of the donee of that grant and in the Pocabh Plate of Saṅgrāmagupta.[8] It is also said to have been the place from which the traditional Ādiśura of Bengal brought the Brahmins well-versed in the Vedas, who became the progenitors of most of the high class Brahmins of Bengal.[9] It seems to have been a place somewhere in northern

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[7] Misra, *op. cit.*, pp. 60 ff., the text l. 18.

[8] *JBORS.*, vol. V, 1919, pp. 582-96.

[9] Banerji, *History of Orissa*, vol. I, p. 197.

India, which was famous in the early medieval period as the seat of orthodox Brahmins and the Brahmins of Bengal and Orissa used to feel proud of connecting their origin with it. It has not been identified by any scholar.

The names of the officers mentioned in this plate indicate a highly developed bureaucratic government of the Bhauma State, like the one revealed by the copper-plates of the late Gupta dynasty found in northern Bengal, such as the Damodarpur Copper-plate.[10] We have here *Mahāsāmanta* (the lord of the feudal chiefs), *Mahārāja* (probably the governor of a province), *Kumārāmātya* (the kinsman of the king employed as a high officer), *Uparika* (the district officer) *Viṣayapati* (the subdivisional officer), *Ayuktaka* (?) *Daṇḍapāśika* (the chief police officer), *Sthānāntarika* (probably the officer in charge of the criminal department), *Valahita* (the commander-in-chief), *Sāmanta* (the feudal chief), *Sāmavāji* (probably the commander of the cavalry), *Vṛhadbhogī* (the chief headman), *Pustapāla* (the chief record keeper) and *Sādhyādhikaraṇa* (the law court). Some of these terms are still being used in Orissa either in their original or corrupt forms. In Angul from which the plate hails, *visa*, a corrupted form of *viṣaya* is still a synonym of the *pargana* and *visoi* (*viṣayapati*) in many parts of Orissa is still used to denote an officer connected with the revenue or the head of a caste. *Sāmanta* or *Sāānta* is a common title used by the land-owning aristocratic families of the province. *Daṇḍuāsi*, undoubtedly a corrupted form of *daṇḍapāśika* or *dāṇḍapāśika*, as Pandit Misra has pointed out,[11] is even now applied to the village chowkidar in Orissa.

We edit and translate the text from the original as well as from the inked impressions.

## TEXT

### *Obverse*

१ ओं स्वस्ति[।*]व्यस्तजलाभ्रविभ्रमधेरैः श्वेतातपत्रोत्करैरश्वीयैः श्रुतिचामरैश्च हसित
व्याकाश (प)काशोदयैः [।*]
२ उद्दामैर्मदसौरभैश्च करिणामाक्षिप्तसच्छदामोदैः सन्निहितां सदैव शरदारम्भश्रियंम्बि-
भ्रतः [॥*] श्री गुहे-
३ श्वर पाटकावासितविजयस्कन्धाभा(बा)रात् ॥ सर्वशापरिपूरिताधिकरुचिर्यस्ताप-
मस्तन्नयन्नयन्ना(ना)नन्दंकृतवांज-

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[10] *E. I.*, vol, XV, pp. 130 ff.

[11] Misra, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, p. 97.

४ नस्य मद(न)सि प्राप्तप्रतिष्ठश्चिरं ॥ सद्दृष्ठि(ष्टि)प्रतिरोधि येन च तमो निर्मूलमुन्मूलितं श्रीमानिन्दुरिवावनिपति-

५ रभूपु(दु)न्मत्तसिंहाद्द्वयः ॥ तद्वंशादभवन्ननिन्दित गुणा मुक्तामयाः सङ्गताः सद्वृत्ताः सुखशीतला (लाः)

६ क्षितिभृतः श्रीमद्वयाडाद्व(द)यः [॥*] ये नीत्वा हृदयप्रतापशमने देवङ्गनाभिः स्वयं कण्ठाश्ले-

७ षसुख स्थिति प्रणयिनो हाराभिरामाः कृताः [॥*] तद्वंशे भवदूर्ज्जित कृतबुधप्रीति प्रतीतो (तो) दयो देवः

८ शत्रुवधूमुखेन्दुतरणिः श्रीलोणभारो नृपः ॥ यस्याक्रम्य गुरुप्रतापशिखिनः पृथ्वीभृतः प्रे(प्रो)-

९ द्धतादू(न्दू)रं यस्य दिगन्तरेषु तरसा स्वैरं प्रसस्रुः कराः[1] ॥ तस्यात्मजः प्रणत पार्थिव चूडा निर्व्या-

१० ज रोपितपदश्चरितार्थनामा ॥ बिस्तारि सौरभगुणोदय पूरिताङ्श (श)स्तस्मादभूत्कुसुमभार (हार)

११ इति क्षितीशः ॥ अभूत ललित हारः क्षमाभरभू(म्भू)रितेजास्तदनु तदनुजन्मा व्युढभोगीन्द्र ली-

१२ लः ॥ आनयदमलिमान(नं)तद्यशः पुरमुच्चैरपि रिपुरमणो नामञानोम्मिश्रमश्रु ॥ तस्मिन्नृ-

१३ पे दिवमुपे(प)युषि तत्तनुजः शास्त्राबनेरजनो शान्तिकर (रा)भिधानः ॥ येनोद्धृतेष्वखिल दुर्मदकराट-

१४ केषु रेमे यथा सुखमपास्तभिया जनेन ॥ तस्य पश्चा[illegible] विश्वम्भरापतिरभूदनु-

१५ जस्ततोपि ॥ श्रेयोगिरेभ्युदयभिल्लारिसं (सै) [illegible] यथार्थं (र्थम्) ॥ तस्य [illegible]

१६ जुषः परमेश्वरस्य देवो समस्तजनतानत(प)दपद्मः ॥ [illegible] कीर्ति (र्त्ति) गौरी गौरो-

१७ व बल्लभ पदीपरगरो[illegible] ॥[3] तस्यो [illegible] मही महोनसामर्थ्या चिर-

१८ काल मपालयत् ॥ तस्या सपत्नजननी [illegible] महादेवी धर्म्मान्नोति-

१९ रितासा (ख्या)ता ॥ [illegible] ( ताम् ) ॥ [illegible] भूषण ( णाम् ) ॥

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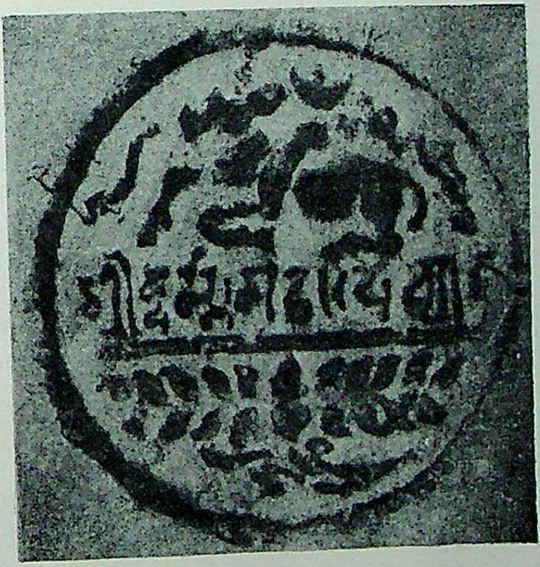
[1] Metre: शार्दूलविक्रीडित ।

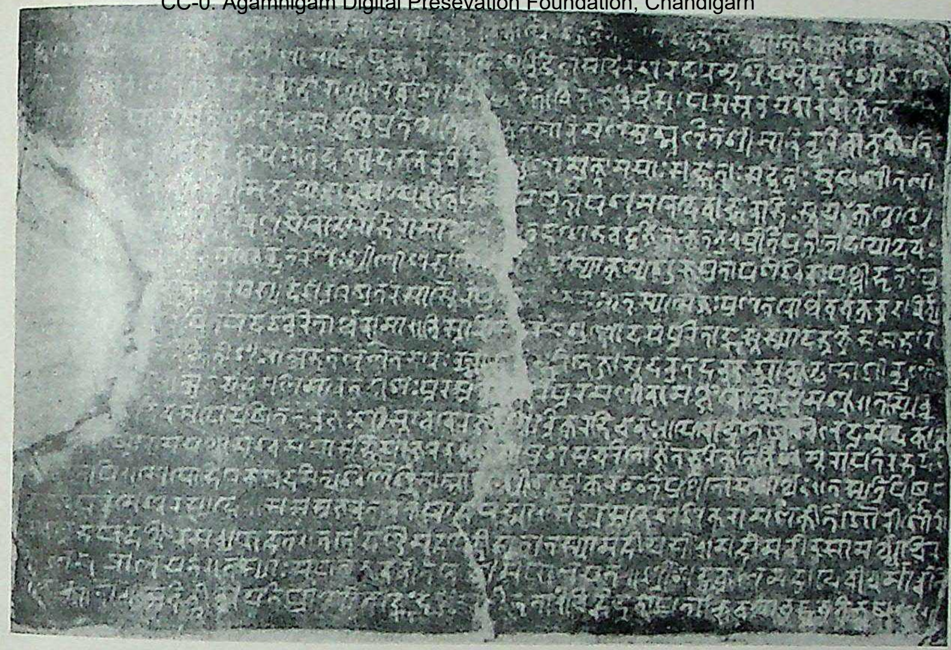
[2] Read सिंहासनं ।

[3] Metre: वसन्ततिलक ।

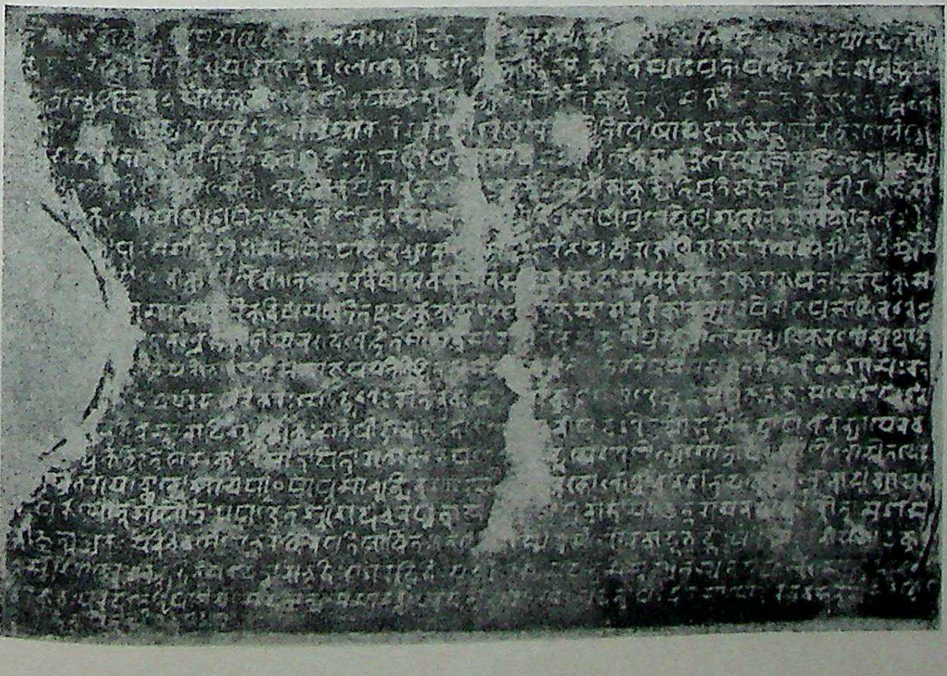
TALTALI PLATE OF DHARMMAMAHĀDEVI

Seal





**Reverse**



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### *Reverse*

२० ततो धर्म ( म्मा ) महादेवी महादेवी महीयसः ॥ श्रीमृल्लबणभारस्य भूवस्तलमपालयत् ॥ लावण्यामृतनिष्य-

२१ न्द सुन्दरं दधती न [पुः] ॥ या राजचन्द्रलेखेव बिला सत्कोर्त्तिचन्द्रिका[4] ॥ तस्याः प्रतापनतदुर्मदशत्रुभूप·

२२ नेत्राम्वुधौतनवषां(या)वक्रमण्डनापि ॥ पादाम्बुजद्युतिरतर्कितमन्नरंञ्जिमञ्जिरसक्तकुरुविन्ददलो·

२३ रुभासा[5] ॥ उद्यानेषु शिलीमुखावलिरवो हारेषु मुक्तास्थितिर्दोषासङ्गरुचिस्तुषारकिरणे विन्ध्ये-

२४ षु सद्वशता[6] ॥ राहौ तीच्णाकरग्रहः क्रमणिषु त्रासोदयः केवलं कान्ताकुन्तलसन्ततौ कुटिलता यस्या (स्याः)

२५ प्रभुत्वे भुवि[7] ॥ रम्या लोकोत्सुकितनयनानन्द पीयूषबर्त्तिः सेवासक्त क्षितिपति सभापद्मिनीराजहंसी

२६ ॥ क्लेयोष्मग्लपित सक्तालम्बन स्वर्णयष्टिर्यानिः शेष प्रणयिंषु (सु) मनो नन्दनोद्यान लक्ष्मीः

२७ ॥[8] परममाहेश्वरी मातापितृपादानुध्याता परम [भ]टारिका महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वरी ·श्रीधर्म्मामम-

२८ हादेवी कुशलिनो ॥ तलमुरविषये वर्तमानभविष्यन्महासामन्त महाराजराजपुत्रान्तरङ्ग कुम (मा)

२९ रामात्योपरिकविषयपतितदायुक्तकदाण्डपाशिक स्थानान्तरिकानन्यानपि राजप्रसादिनश्च (श्चा)ट-

३० भटवल्लभजातीयान् ॥[9] वलहितसामन्त सामवाजि व्रहद्भोगिपुंस्तपाल साध्याधिकरणान्यथार्ह(र्हं)

३१ मानयति बोधयति समाज्ञ(ज्ञा)पयति विदितमस्तु[भ]वतां (ताम् ) ॥ तलमुरविषय सम्वद्द तरतलोइ ग्रामः चतु(तुः)

३२ सीमा पर्य(र्य्य)न्त स(सो) परिकरः सोद्देशः सतन्तुबायः गोकुट शौण्ढ(ण्डि)कादि स प्रकृतिकः सखेट घटन-

३३ दि (दी) तरस्थानादि गुल्मकः सर्वपीडावर्ज्जितोऽलेखनी प्रावशितया भूमिच्छिद्रापिधानन्यायेन(णा)च-

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4 Metre: अनुष्टुभ् ।

5 Metre: वसन्ततिलक ।

6 Read विद्वेषु सद्वेषता ।

7 Metre: शार्द्दूलविक्रीडित ।

8 Metre: मन्दाक्रान्ता ।

9 This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

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३४ न्द्रार्कक्षितिसमकालं मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्याभिवृद्धये शाण्डिल्य गोत्राय ॥[9] शाण्डिल्यासित (ल्यश्रित)देव-

३५ ल प्रवराया(य)च्छान्दोग(ग्या)य पाठप्राप्तमाध्यान्दिनशाखाध्यायिने कोलाञ्चविनिर्गताय कोंसल्ला वास्तव्याय भ-

३६ टपुरुषोत्तमपौत्राय पण्डित श्रीगदाधरपुत्राय श्रीपद्मनाभाय ॥[9] उत्तरायन(ण) संक्रान्तौ ताम्रशास-

३७ नी कृत्य अक्षयनिविधर्मेणाकरत्वेन प्रतिपादितः ॥ तदेषोस्मद्धर्म गौरवाद्भवद्भिः परिपालनीयः ॥ उक्तं च

३८ धर्म्मशास्त्रे ॥ बहुभिर्व्वस(सु)धा दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं( लम् ) ॥ माभूदफल-

२९ शंकावः परदत्तेति पार्थिवाः । स्वदत्ता फलमानन्त्या परदत्तानुपालने ॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तांम्ना यो हरेत वसुन्धरां स विष्ठायं(यां)

४० कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह पच्यते ।[10]

Ll. 1-3. Hail from the victorious camp established at Guheśvara-pāṭaka which smiles by assuming always the beauty of the beginning of the autumn on account of his white umbrellas resembling the waterless clouds, on account of (white) horses and on account of (white) ear-chowries resembling the full-blown *Kāśa* flowers and on account of the odour of the rut of the vigorous elephants, resembling the odour of *Śaptacchada* flowers scattered about.

Ll. 3-5. There was a king like a moon, known as Unmata-siṃha who had a liking for fulfilling all hopes and who, with his fame established for long, brought delight to the mind of man by removing all troubles and by eradicating ignorance that prevents enlightenments. Or, there was a king known as Unmata-siṃha who like a moon filled all quarters with his beams and who with his fame established for long, brought delight to the mind of man by removing the heat (of the day) and by dispelling darkness that prevents good visibility.

Ll. 5-7. From his family were born the kings like the prosperous Gayāḍa and others who had flawless qualities, good conduct and pearls (as decorations) and who were affable and were rolling in happiness (lit. cooled with happiness). Or, from his family were born the kings like the prosperous Gayāḍa and others who resembled the pearls which, beautifully rounded (*sadvṛtā*), joined together (*saṅgatā*) and strung in a flawless string (*anindita-guṇā*), become pleasurably cool (*sukha-sītalā*). They (the kings) who were the lovers of the happiness derived from the embrace of the necks (of the ladies), were taken away by the heavenly nymphs and were used as their necklaces for the sake of assuaging the heat of their hearts.

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10 Metre: अनुष्टुभ् ।

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Ll. 7-9 . In their family was born the prosperous Loṇabhāra who was powerful, who gave happiness to the learned and who was a sun to the moon-like faces of wives of the enemies and whose hands with extremely powerful arrows, after attacking the audacious kings unhindered spread rapidly far into different quarters or whose rays (*karāh*) after overcoming the extremely powerful rays (*guru-pratāpa-śikhinaḥ*) of the audacious kings, unhindered spread rapidly far into different quarters.

Ll. 9-11 . His son Kusumahāra then became the king who placing his feet artlessly on the heads of the kings bowing down and spreading his qualities like fragrance in all directions, justified the meaning of his name.

Ll. 11-12 . Then his most powerful younger brother Lalitahāra bore the weight of the earth (i. e. ruled the kingdom) in the manner of the huge king of the serpents (Śeṣa-nāga). The stream of his high fame even whitened the tears of the wives of his enemies, blackened by collirium.

Ll. 12-14. After this king had gone to heaven, his son known as Śāntikara became the ruler of the earth. All obnoxious thorns having been removed by him, the loyal people could move about freely (in the earth).

Ll. 14-15. Then his powerful, large-hearted and high famed younger brother became the lord of the earth, who rightly became known as Śubhākara since he was the sole repository of all virtues.

Ll. 15-17. This over-lord having gone to heaven, his queen Gaurī with all people bowing down at her lotus-feet and with her fame as white as the moon beam, sat for long like Gaurī on the throne of her husband.

Ll. 17-18. Then her great daughter Daṇḍimahādevī with great strength protected the earth for long.

Ll. 18-19. Then her step-mother Vakulamahādevi ruled the earth, who was famous like *nīti* (law) born of *dharmma* (piety) and who became an ornament like a flag with insignia, in the lofty and continuous family of the Bhañja kings.

Ll. 20-26. Then Dharmmāmahādevi, the great queen of the prosperous Lavaṇabhāra protected the earth, who with a body as beautiful as the stream of liquid nectar, and with her fame glittering like moonlight just like a shining digit of the moon. The beauty of her lotus-like feet with *yāvaka* (red dye) washed away by the tears of the powerful hostile kings bent, under her prowess, is enhanced by the diamonds attached to the *manjīras* (small bells) carelessly set. While she rules the earth, *sitimukhāvalī-rava* (the sound of the bees) is to be found in the gardens, but *sitimukhāvalī-rava* (the sound of the sword) is not to be found; *muktā* (pearls) are to be found in the necklaces, but *muktā* (woman of loose character) is not to be found; *doṣāsaṅga-ruci* (the desire for contact with the evening) is to be found in the moon, but *doṣā-saṅga-ruci* (the desire for contact with vices) is not to be found; *sadveṣatā* (the spirit of debate) is to be found in the learned, but *sadveṣatā* (maliciousness) is not to be found; *tīkṣṇa-kara-graha* (the swallowing of the sun) is to be found in Rāhu, but *tīkṣṇa-kara-graha* (the realisation of oppressive taxes), is not to be found; *trāso-daya* (the emitting of lustre) is to be found in gems, but *trāso-daya* (the generation of fear) is not to be found; and *kuṭilatā* (waviness) is to be found only in the locks of hairs of women, but *kuṭilatā* (crookedness) is not to be found. She is a lamp of pleasure-giving nectar to the eye desirous of (receiving her) beautiful lustre and she is a female swan in the assembly of the kings devoted to her service. She is the gold clutch for the support of Virtue troubled in the vice of Kali Age and she is the Lakṣmī in the Nandana garden full of flowers for the suppliants.

Ll. 27-28. Parama-māheśvarī, Parama-bhaṭārikā Mahārājādhirāja and Parameśvarī Śrī Dharmma-mahādevī who meditates upon the feet of her father and mother being in good health ;

Ll. 28-38. Duly honours, intimates to and commands the present and future *mahāsāmantas*, *mahārājas*, *rāja-putras*, *antaraṅgas*, *kumārāmātyas*, *uparikas*, *ayuktakas*, *dāṇḍapāśikas*, *sthānāntarikas* and others who enjoy the favour of the king, the heads of the *Cāṭa*, *Bhāṭa* and *Vallabha* castes, the *valahitas*, *sāmantas*, *sāmavājis*, *vṛhadbhogīs*, *pustapālas* and law-courts of Talamura *viṣaya*: "Be it known to you, that the village Tarataloi included in the *viṣaya* of Talamura, up to its four limits, has been granted rent free on the day of *uttarāyana saṃkrānti* by means of a copper-plate, according to the laws of *akṣaya-nivi*, *bhūmi-chidrapidhāna* and *lekhanī-prāvasita* for the increase of the merits of our parents and self, to Śrī Padmanābha, son of Paṇḍita Gadādhara, grandson of Bhaṭṭa Puruṣottama, a resident of Koṃsalā immigrating from Kolāñca who belongs to Śāṇḍilya *gotra*, to Devala pravara included in Śāṇḍilya (*gotra*), to (the school of) Chāndogya and who has received lessons as a student of Mādhyāndina śākhā, (to be enjoyed by him) free from all obstruction as long as the sun, the moon and the earth exist, with all additional taxes, with proceeds from weavers, cowherds and distillers and other subjects and with hamlets, ferries, rivers, other places and forests.

Wherefore this should be observed by you out of respect for our piety.

It has been said in the scriptures ;

Ll. 30-40 (Here follow three of the usual imprecatory verses).

GHANASHYAM DAS
&
KRISHNA CHANDRA PANIGRAHI

# MISCELLANY

## A Prākrit Tendency in Ṛgveda

A number of considerations give Ṛgveda a position of pre-eminence in the whole range of the Vedic literature. As regards the language we have not only the oldest phase of the Indo-Aryan preserved in it, but we also see there many dialectal features which bring it nearer the spoken language of the time than any other Vedic work. One result of the influence of the spoken language on the literary idiom of the Ṛgveda is a number of Prakritisms which it reveals here and there.[1] Scholars are now beginning to see that not only the phonology of the Ṛgvedic dialect shows traces of Prākrit influence in a number of words, but also the so-called Prākritic tendencies of the later days find some trace in the Sandhi-rules and the morphology of its language.[2] The general implication of these facts is clear. In spite of the attempts of the later redactors to put the Ṛgveda Saṃhitā in a form consistent with a later linguistic tradition and theory, the original features of its language have survived in places, particularly when the normalising process would go against the metre or when some plausible explanation could be imagined which can bring them in agreement with later usage. We hope to find such a Prākritic tendency in the present Saṃhitā of Ṛgveda incidentally preserved though in a limited number of cases.

The Ṛgveda shows, as is well known, a number of cases of double Sandhi, a feature also observed in the epic literature. Among these scholars have included a few cases where we find a- Sandhi of final *-am* with a following vowel giving rise to a long vowel by combination. Thus Whitney[3] explains a case like *saṃvánanobhayaṅkarám* (ṚV. VIII. 1. 2.) as due to the loss of the final *-m* and the combination of *saṁvánana* with the following *ubhayaṅkarám*. Support is sought in the reading of Sāmaveda which gives *saṁvánanam* in the corresponding place, although this interpretation contradicts the reading of the Padapāṭha *saṁvánanā*. Wackernagel notes the explanation given by Kuhn[4] to the effect that the final *-m* becomes a mere anusvāra, as seen in the Prākrit tendency of changing all final *-m*'s into *-ṁ*. Being thus weakened the final nasal resonance disappears. Parallels to such a change can be found in abundance in the Prākrits: *kahaṁ, kaha; evvaṁ, evva* etc. As pointed out by Benfey,[5] Latin supplies a good parallel to this phenomenon. Quintilian[6] has already noted that final *-m* in expressions like *multum ille, quantum erat* was slightly pronounced, though it did not absolutely vanish. Latin inscriptions in the earliest times show that final *m* was frequently omitted also in writing. The later development of the Vulgar Latin makes final *m* disappear completely.[7] Obviously Wackernagel does not approve of this suggestion. He himself remarks that the poets of the pre-classical period allowed the final *m* to drop, being misled by analogical cases like *túbhya* : *túbhyam* (cp. Avesta : *maibyā, taibyā* etc.) and then combine the final vowel with the following one. He illustrates it with *AV. rāṣṭréhá* for *rāṣṭrám ihá* (so written). Macdonell[9] has mechanically followed Wackernagel and has also reproduced his illustrations.

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[1] Wackernagel, *Altindische Grammatik*, I, XVII-XXI and the sections referred to there.

[2] Bloomfield, Edgerton, Emeneau, *Vedic Variants*, I-III. Introductory Summaries. B Ghosh, *Indian Linguistics*. VII, 54-57; IX, 30-37. S. M. Katre, *Prakrit Languages*, pp. 65-73 mainly based on Wackernagel and *Vedic Variants*.

[3] *Sanskrit Grammar*, 213, h.

[4] K. Beitr. 4, 208.

The real explanation of these cases appears to be somewhat different. It is only recently that we are understanding the importance and wide scope of a purely phonetic alternance between a long vowel and a short vowel followed by an anusvāra which is used without any morphological significance. Thus the Prākrits often show alternative forms like *aṭṭhā, aṭṭham: heṭṭhā, heṭṭham: sammā, sammaṁ* and so on.[10] This Prākrit alternance has, however, a far wider scope. It is found in the body of the word (*sīha, siṁha· sanaṁtana, sanātana: vaṅgīsa, vāgīśa*) or may give rise to doublets like *pabhiī, pabhiiṁ, iha, ihaṁ; vīsā, vīsaṁ*. The full implication of this alternance is not grasped by the earlier Prākrit grammarians like Pischel and Geiger, though they have noted a number of cases of this alternance under some empirical laws or the so-called Dreimorengesetz.[11] With the collection of môre extensive material, we now see that this alternance between a long vowel like *-ā, ī* or *-ū* and the correspoding short vowel followed by an anusvāra is purely phonetic and is not confined either to the final of a word or dependent upon the presence of some kind of a conjunct requiring simplification.[12]

In the light of this well established Prākrit tendency, it is necessary to see whether a few cases in the Vedic literature and particularly in Ṛgveda admit of a similar explanation. Cases of adverbs of identical

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[5] *Goett. Abhand.* 19, 159.

[6] IX, 4, 40.

[7] Wartburg: *Evolution et structure de la langue francaise*, pp. 40-41.

[8] *Altindische Grammatik*, I, 283.

[9] *Vedic Grammar*, p. 65. *A Vedic Grammar for Students*, p. 33.

[10] Ghatage, *Introduction to Ardha-Māgadhī*, 127.

[11] *Grammatik der Prākrit-Sprachen*, 75, 76. *Pāli Literatur und Sprache*, 6.

[12] Jacobi: *Bhavisattakaha*, 60; Alsdorf: *BSOS*, VIII, 329 foll. Ghatage: *NIA.*, II, 50 foll. Upadhye, *Dhūrtākhyāna*. Intro. p. 51.

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nature have been already noted[13] from Ṛgveda: *itthā, ittham; kathā, katham*. But no explanation has been suggested for them. If this tendency is visible in the adverbs in Ṛgveda it is quite legitimate to find it in other similar cases also. Thus the case of Sandhi referred to above may be brought under this tendency with great probability. *ṚV*. VIII. 1. 2. reads: (*índram*)......*vidvéṣaṇaṁ saṃvánanobhayaṅkaráṁ máṁhiṣṭham ubhayāvínam*/ 'to Indra, who hates (the enemies), wins over (his friends), does both, the greatest and possessing both.'[14] Sāyaṇa explains *saṁvánanā* as *saṃvananam sammyak sambhajanīym stotṛbhiḥ*. There can be no doubt, whatever his semantic explanation, that he agrees with the Padapāṭha in reading *saṁvánanā* and taking it as an equivalent of *saṁvánanam*, a clear case of this alternance under discussion. With this admission of the word there is no difficulty of the Sandhi. The peculiar rule of the loss of the final *m* has no scope here and we have the perfectly normal case of *-ā* and *u-* combining into *-o-* here. Following Wackernagel and Macdonell we need not put any blame on the author of the Padapāṭha, who has obviously admitted a word like *saṁvānanā* in this case. Such doublets appear to be the peculiarity of the popular or spoken speech. A continuation of this very fact on a greater scale is found in the Prākrit stage, though unfortunately the Prākrit scholars have not taken any note of it so long. We have a large number of cases like *moyaṇā* (*mocanam*) Ācārāṅga 1; *pūyaṇā* (*pūjanam*) Ācārāṅga 1; *māraṇā* (*māraṇam*), *ghāyaṇā* (*ghātanam*), *vahaṇā* (*vahanam*), *lovaṇā* (*lopanam*) Praśnavyākaraṇa I. 1.; *aṇuvāsaṇā* (*anuvāsanam*), *tappaṇā* (*tarpaṇam*) Vipākaśruta 23; *gabbhsāḍaṇā* (*garbhaśāṭanam*), *pāḍaṇā* (*pātanam*), *gālaṇā* (*gālanam*) Vipākaśruta 20; *cāmarā* (*cāmaram*) Kalapasūtra 61; *āosaṇā* (*ākrośanam*) Nirayāvali 32; etc. The Prākrits have even extended the tendency to masculine nouns also: *takkā* (*tarkaḥ*) Ācārāṅga 1; *viyakkā* (*vitarkaḥ*) Sūtrakṛtāṅga 11.2.21. *bhuyā* (*bhujaḥ, L. Sk. bhujā*) Kumārapālapatibodha p. 273; *ghāyā* (*ghātaḥ*) Paumacariya 33.109. But there is no doubt that it was originally confined to neuter nouns only and was extended later on to the masculine nouns by analogy or attraction. All these cases make it highly probable that the spoken language at the earliest times had a doublet in *-a* for *-am* of a neuter word and a remnant of it may be seen in the ṚV. word *saṁvánanā*.

Two more cases from Ṛgveda may now be considered in this context. In ṚV. 18.2 we get: *nāhámáto nírayā durgáhaitát tiraścátā pārśvān nirgamāṇi*/ 'I will not come out from this place. This is a bad passage. I will come out from the side obliquely.' The Padapāṭha reads: *durgáhā etát;* and Sāyaṇa remarks: *durgahā durgaham*. The

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[13] Bloch: *L'Indo-Aryen*, p. 91.

[14] For the sense cf. Velankar: *JBU.*, XIV, p. 8.

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word is derived from *dur+gāh-* connected with *gādha* 'deep'. It may therefore mean 'a low passage' (Geldner) or 'difficult to enter' (Velankar).[15] Wackernagel has explained the Sandhi as coming from *durgáham+etát*. Macdonell follows him. Prof. Velankar accepts the Padapāṭha reading *durgáhā* and takes it as neuter plural in spite of the singular pronoun *etát* and a singular meaning from the context. It is true that neuter plurals are often thought of as collective in meaning, and, as in Greek, *ṚV.* also shows a singular verb with a subject in neuter plural.[16] But here we have no trace of a collective sense and we have no single case of a plural noun with a singular demonstrative. Here there is no necessity of either accepting an irregular Sandhi or a breach of the usual congruence. In agreement with the Padapāṭha and Sāyaṇa, the most natural course is to accept *durgáhā* as an alternative form of *durgáham*. The same is the case with *ṚV.* I. 162.10. *sukṛtā́ tác chamitā́raḥ kṛṇvantu*/ 'Let the śamitṛ priests make it well done'. Here also the Padapāṭha has *sukṛtā́* and Sāyaṇa equates it with *sukṛtám*. Obviously the explanation of a peculiar Sandhi is not possible here and no incongruence between *tát* and *sukṛtā́* need be accepted. We can take the word as an alternative form of *sukṛtám* and not as neuter plural. All the three cases fully justify the Padapāṭha and the explanation of Sāyaṇa to the extent that they are neuter singular forms.

Two more cases in later Vedic literature now get explained. In Taittirīya Saṃhitā 1.4.44.2. we have the form *sávanedám*, explained so far as *sávanam idám* against the Padapāṭha *sávanā idám;* and in *K.S.* 1.4.12. *sadanedam astu*. The different variants noted on the second passage[17] are best explained on the supposition that *sadanā* was either taken as Nom. plu. Neu. (*sadanāni santu*) or as Acc. plu. Neu. (*sadanā akarma*) or even changing *sadanā* straightway into *sadanam*.

We are thus led to the conclusion that in all these cases, *ṚV.* and occasionally some later Vedic works know of an alternative form in *-ā* to the Neuter sing. form in *-am*, in conformity with a well known Prākrit tendency, probably a result of the spoken dialect influencing the Vedic language.

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[15] *JBU.* VI, p. 38.

[16] Delbruck, *Altindische Syntax*, 53.

[17] *Vedic Variants*, III, 164.

# A New Light On Durgotsava

*Durgotsava-paddhati* by Udaya Siṃha is a work of great interest and throws a new light on the Durga Liturgy. No. 6445 of Indian Museum Collection is the only MS. of it known to us, written in beautiful Devanāgarī of the 16th century A.D.

The points, dealt with in this paper are :—

## (I)

In the first introductory verse of the work the name of the author is given as "Udaya Siṃha" and in the second he is named "Rūpa-Nārāyāṇa", which like "Cakranārāyaṇa" is a *viruda* and no name.

R. G. Bhandarkar in his *Report* (1881-82) mentions two works on Dharma-śāstra apparently by this Udaya Siṃha, who according to a statement in[1] the 2nd work, was a prince ruling in Gorakhpur in Oudh. Another work on smṛti by this Udaya Siṃha, entitled Rūpa-Nārāyaṇa—*Mahādānapaddhati* is described by Eggeling in the India Office Catalogue.[2] The I.O. Ms. (Catal. No. 1715) which was copied in SK. 1452-1530 A.D. throws some light on the age of the author.

The comparatively modern works quoted by Udaya are (1) Caṇḍeśa or Caṇḍeśvara, a minister of Hara Siṃha Deva of Mithilā, who, it is known, was living in 1314 A.D. when he gave away gold equal to his weight on the river Vagvati and (2) Madana Pārijāta compiled in the reign of Madanapāla, one of whose works is dated 1375 A.D.

So the latest authority quoted by him was living in 1375; and as a MS. of his another work—*Mahādānapaddhati*, described in I.O. Catalogue, was copied in 1530 A.D., the author may safely be placed somewhere in the second half of the 15th century, if not earlier. It is also a significant fact that he quotes Çaṇḍeśvara of Mithilā and does not even mention Vidyāpati who also belonged to Mithilā and whose most famous *Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇī* is often referred to in the later works on the Pūjā. Vidyāpati lived at the end of the fourteenth century A.D. and in the beginning of the fifteenth. Udaya may, therefore, be of about the same age as Vidyāpati.

The Pūjā, as we in Bengal understand it—in the image of clay and with great festivity takes place to-day only in the eastern provinces of

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India, viz., Bengal Mithilā and Kāmarūpa. The modern Durgāpūjā-paddhatis, hitherto known to us, all come from these hree provinces only. Thus we have, in Bengal Śūlapāṇi's *Durgotsavaviveka* and Raghunandana's *Durgotsava-tattva;* in Mithilā Vidyāpati's *Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇī,* and in Kāmarūpa the *Kāmarūpīya-nibandha.* Śūlapāṇi is the oldest of them all, one of its manuscripts being copied in 1393 A.D. But admittedly the most important work on the Pūja is that of Vidyāpati—*Durgā-bhakti-taraṅgiṇī*—which is often quoted and deals with the ritual in full, commencing with the construction of the thatched roof for the Pūjā. The last work written on the Pūjā is the *Durgotsava-tattva* by Raghunandana, whose *Jyotiṣa-tattva* was compiled in the year 1565 A.D. This Udaya Siṃha's work (the subject of this article) comes, therefore, between Vidyāpati and Raghunandana, a manuscript of one of the works of Udaya, as pointed out above, being copied in 1530 A.D.

Besides the above-mentioned works, (by Vidyāpati and others) which are compilations, there are three very important Pūjā-paddhatis which are assigned to the three Purāṇas—*Kālikā Purāṇa, Bṛhannandikeśvara Purāṇa* and *Devī Purāṇa;* and these three only have been accepted in Bengal as guides for the actual performance of the Pūjā.

## (II)

Among the modern Pandits there are some who hold that the Durgā Pūjā celebrated in the autumn has its root in some aboriginal custom prevalent in ancient India and their only reason is that Śavarotsava or the festival of the wild tribes forms a part of the Durgā-festival. The Paṇḍits of the old school, however, think otherwise and attempt to trace its root in the Ṛgveda. Arguments on either side are, however, unconvincing. Though the origin of the Pūjā still remains vague, it goes without saying that the whole Pūjā, in the form in which it has come down to us, centres round the great theme of the *Devī māhātmya*, commonly known as *Caṇḍī*. The "*Caṇḍī*" is considered to be an independent work inserted into the *Mārkuṇḍeya Purāṇa;* and as regards its age this much is known that its oldest extant manuscript is dated 998 A.D.[3] The recital of this holy work forms an essential feature of the Pūjā and the image of Durgā is modelled on a scene from it (Mahiṣāsūrabadha). In the last chapter of the book the Durgā festival is described as the "great autumnal worship."

In Baṇa's *Harṣa-carita* there is a reference to the image of Durgā in the Vindhya region. It is, therefore, safe to conclude that the worship of Durgā in some form became current in the heroic age of the Guptas. Sculptural evidence points also to the same conclusion. The oldest image of Durgā, which has been found in Central India, is assigned to the 6th century A.D.[4]

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[3] Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, vol. III.

Another significant fact to be noted about the Pūjā is its opening ceremony, called *Akāla-bodhana,* which means "waking up the goddess out of season." By "Akāla," (wrong time) is meant *Dakṣiṇāyana* or movement of the Sun from north to south during the six months which constitute the night-time for gods and is held to be an inauspicious season, and which, according to the Śāstra, is not the time for any religious ceremony—Śrauta or Smārta. This difficulty of the Śāstra has been met by referring to the story that Brahmā did wake up the goddess on behalf of Rāmacandra for killing Rāvaṇa.

That story occurs only in the later Purāṇas, (and nowhere in the Rāmāyaṇa itself), apparently as an attempt to give the Pūjā the appearance of a Śrauta or Smārta ceremony; and this very attempt indicates that the source of the ceremony is not to be sought either in Śruti or Smṛti, but somewhere else.

This work by Udaya Siṃha presents the ritual in a new light; and from this it appears to have started from what was in ancient India a purely military ceremony, performed by kings and generals on the bright half of the month of Āśvina before taking the field against the enemy.

This ceremony is described in full by Varāha-mihira in the 43rd chapter of his *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*. Śrīharṣa is said to have performed it on the eve of his invasion of Bengal. Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa, the biographer of Harṣa, gives a picturesque description of the ceremony and calls it Bala-nīrājanā. It seems to have been performed for the purpose of awakening divinity among the component parts of the king's army—horses, horsemen, weapons of the war and so on, on the eve of a battle.

The Pūjā in our manuscript opens on the Mahānavamī day with the *saṃkalpa* for victory and closes with the horses marching to victory guarded by armed horsemen, on the Daśamī day. The march is preceded by the *aśvapūjā,* then the imposing ceremony of *Nirājanā.*

This ceremony on the eve of a battle is also described by Kālidāsa in *Raghu-digvijaya* and it is also referred to in the old Purāṇas quoted in Raghunandana's *Tithitattva* in connection with Durgotsava. These military features have however been omitted from the Paddhatis handed down to us and even from Raghunandana's own *Durgotsava-tattva.* This part of the ceremony is fully dealt with in Udaya Siṃha's *Paddhati* following closely Varāha-mihira's Ch. 43 mentioned above.

It is interesting to note here that an effigy of the enemy[5] made of clay (like Mahiṣāsūra in the Durgā-image of the present day) is mentioned by Varāha-mihira. According to him, the officiating priest is to pierce through the chest with a spear at the close of the ceremony of Bala-Nirājanā.

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[4] Bhumara, Central India: Relief of Mahisamardini—*c.* 6th century A.D.—R. D. Banerji: *Siva Temple at Bhumara*, Pl. XIV(b), M.A.S.I. No. 16.

[5] मृण्मयमरिं विभिन्द्यात् शूलेनोरःस्थले विप्रः । (Varāha-Mihira)
हृदि शूलेन निर्भिन्नं दानवं खड्गपाणिनम् । (Durgā-Dhyāna)

According to Udaya this "Mahā-pūjā", though a festival of the martial race, is to be celebrated by other peoples. "The Goddess", says Udaya, "is to be worshipped by Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas who are the rulers or maintainers of the people--for the good of all the peoples inhabiting the land; she is to be worshipped by the Vaiśyas for their wealth and cattle: and by the Śūdras for their progeny and comforts of life, and, what more, even by the barbarians." He quotes verses from the old Purāṇas in support of his view and concludes "All men have a right to worship the goddess according to their fitness." The lofty spirit behind the whole ceremony as described by Udaya is manifest in the Samkalpa-vākya, which runs thus :—Durbhikṣa-duḥkha-nivṛtti-subhikṣa........harṣavijaya-kāmaḥ etc. He is praying first for the good of the society and then for his own victory.

The same lofty spirit characterises the older Paddhatis of the *Kālikā Purāṇa* and *Bṛhannandikeśvara Purāṇa*, in which the aim of the worshipper is not the satisfaction of desires for one's petty personal gains; it is nothing short of "marta-śreṣṭhatva." But this Pūjā in Bengal has, since the days of Raghunandana, degenerated into an expression of the pettiness of spirit and grossly egoistic instincts. The only prayer now-a-days is for "Dhana", "Dhānya", "Apatya" and "Āyuḥ."

There is a story current in Bengal that it was Rājā Gaṇeśa who introduced into Bengal the Pūjā and the Paurāṇika-Pūjāpaddhatis (which are supposed still to guide the worshippers in Bengal). Whatever be the truth in the statement, there is no doubt that the Paddhatis like those assigned to *Kālikā Purāṇa* and *Bṛhannandikeśvara Pūrāṇa* were intended for ambitious rulers like Gaṇeśa.[5] The fact is

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[6] The performance of the Pūjā, as described in the paddhatis (which are still supposed to be followed in Bengal) requires undoubtedly the resources of a king. Besides a large number of goats and buffalos, it requires for Mahāsnāna the waters from the Sarasvatī, and all the different shrines, and water of five precious Jewels. The imposing ceremony of the Mahāsnāna is accompanied by music, vocal and instrumental,—that requires priests who must be masters of the science of music (such as

विभाषरागो दुन्दुभिवाद्यम्...केदारराग इन्द्राभिषेकवाद्यम्...गुर्ज्जरीराग-धराभिषेक विजयवाद्येन...ततो-वेदादिमन्त्रचतुष्टयेन कर्णाटराग-धराभिषेकवाद्येन etc. etc.

So the Pūjā is truly described as the aśvamedha of Kali.

As regards the Savarotsava only local chiefs can organise such a gang of barbarians for the last part of the festival in which a large number of other people is also to take part.

that Bengal (with Assam and Mithilā) from which only the manuscripts of the Durgā-Pūjā-paddhatis (excepting this Indian Museum Manuscript of Udaya's work) have come, continued to be the land of the independent and semi-independent chiefs of high ambition down to the end of the Muhammedan period.

The ceremony has, however, incorporated into itself what seems to have been a very old custom prevalent among the common people of India. It is called *Navapatrī Pūjā*. *Navapatrī* means nine plants tied together in a sheaf, which is held to be as sacred as the *Pratimā* and placed by its side at the time of the Pūjā. These are the nine plants of the autumn which give the people their food and medicine. The "Almighty" and "All-good" mother "appearing amongst the foliage" of the autumn is invoked to ascend the image and accept the Pūjā (pallava saṃsthite devi pūjāye tvāṃ prasīda me).

The question which arises now is this :—

That in all the Pūjā-paddhatis known to us, the Durgāpratimā is described as consisting of only the goddess herself, her lion and the Asūra and none else. The Pratimā with Lakṣmī, Sarasvatī, Kārtika and Gaṇeśa standing around the goddess, who is worshipped in these days only in Bengal, Mithilā and Kāmarūpa was not known even to Raghunandana (of Akbar's time). How and when has it received its present shape? It may be pointed out here that it fits in well with Udaya's conception of the Pūjā as a ceremony, in which all the four castes meet. For, of the four deities, Sarasvatī stands for the Brāhmanic culture, Kārtika for the military valour and glory, Lakṣmī as the deity of the class owning wealth and paddy, and Gaṇeśa as one belonging to the multitude.

But, as has been pointed out for the first time by Pandit Satischandra Siddhāntabhūṣaṇa, it is not without any foundation in Śāstra that the Pratimā has been given this shape. It is described as such in the *Kālivilāsa-tantra*. A manuscript of this has been "noticed" by Raja Rajendralala in *L.2963*. It is believed to be a modern Tantra treating of the Śākta rites and ceremonies. As it has a chapter on Bengali as an Apabhraṃśa language, it seems to have been produced in Bengal. This, I think, satisfactorily explains how and why the image has been given its present shape in Bengal.

This union of the people on the occasion was completed—became real—by what is described in Raghunandana's Paddhati as Śavarotsava—the festival of the primitive hordes which is to take place on the Vijayā-daśamī day. The injunction of the Śāstra is that everyone shall join the Śavaras and sing their songs and even do things revolting to the civilised taste. Anyone not doing so out of vanity or a false sense of dignity incurs the wrath of Durgā.

NANI GOPAL BANERJEE

# Discovery of a Rare Manuscript

I have just discovered an old manuscript with name Sahaj Sanehi (सहज सनेही) written by Mohan Kavi in V. S. 1667 in the reign of Jahangir. It contains 43 pages with five kinds of hand writing. It seems that the author was the court-poet of the above Badshah.

The language of the Manuscript is Hindī, the Brij Bhāṣā. The poet was the resident of Muttra.

The ms. begins !—

नमो आतमा सहज सनेही, परमानन्द प्रगटधरि देही,
आपा एक अनेक दिषायौ, ठौर ठौर लैमत लिपटायौ,
आपुही रङ्क आप भूपाला, आपही तरुन विरधभऐवाला,
आपुही पुरुष आपही नारी, आपु माहिमिलिकोनीचिन्हरी,
आपुही रुप अनूपदिखायौ. आपुही देख चित्तविरमायो,
आपुही जाने आप अजाना, आप संभारि आप विसराना,
आपुही गुरु आपही चेला, आपु सर्व में आप अकेला,
दौ !—आपभयौ वहु रुपया घट घट अलष सरुप
सहज सुभाइक आप में, आपुहो लख्यौंअनूप,
आपुही आप अकेला, बहुरों वहु रुपोहै पेला,
तिजकीन समभयौं जाई, आप ख्याल में रहो समाई,
मरम जानि जियमांहि लुकाना, आपुही आपनुजाई न जाना ।

ends !—

दौ!—जो इहिवाचैं जो सुनैं उपजाहि अमृततरङ्ग
मोहन भेटों भावतौं सहज सनेही सङ्ग

चौपहि !—

**सोरह सै सतसठ** सतु अहा, **सावन परवाबुद्धिदिनगहा**
जहांगीर आदिल करराज्, अकवरतन साहिन सिरताज्
राइ रंक कीने समताई, राज सुपिरु उहसदा विहाई,
आप आपुमगु जौ जिहिभावै, कोऊकाइकिनचलावैं
सवै पेथमिलिहि करतारा, ज्यौं सरिता निधिमिलहि अपारा,
देह सकल में ज्यों है देहो, त्यों मथुरा सव अंग सनेही,
जहां निरगुन सरगुन द्वै नाचा, पेल सकल में राखैसांचा,
मोहन मथुरा में बसत, कीनी कथा वनाइ,
आपु रुप पूरन सकल समभयौ सहज सुझाइ ।

CHATUR BHUJ DAS CHATURVEDI

# REVIEWS

SOME HISTORICAL ASPECTS OF THE INSCRIPTIONS OF BENGAL (Pre-Muhammadan Epochs) by Benoychandra Sen, M.A., B.L., Ph. D. (Lond.), published by Calcutta University, pp. 613+lxxii.

The above work has grown out of a thesis approved by the University of London for the degree of Ph. D. It is an important contribution not merely to the History of Bengal, but also of the Gupta Empire of which large tracts of Bengal formed integral parts. It was a happy idea of the author to bring together at one place the valuable epigraphic sources of the history with which it deals. These are classified into five groups, viz. those of (i) Maurya period; (ii) Imperial Gupta period (*c*. 350-500 A.D.); (iii) Post-Gupta period (*c*. 544-700 A.D.); (iv) Pāla and Sena periods (*c*. 750-1205 A.D.); (v) miscellaneous character (*c*. 650-1200 A.D.). As many as 114 inscriptions belonging to these groups have been considered by the author as the sources of his history. He has used these sources in all their bearings. Part I of the work gives a valuable account of the ancient geography of Bengal on the basis of numerous place-names contained in the inscriptions and also in the earlier Greek and Latin works. Part II of the work is its main part dealing with political history under the Gupta emperors and their successors in Bengal, later Guptas, local kings, Pāla emperors and the Senas. Part III of the work deals with the important topic of the administrative system and institutions which were functioning in all these different periods. As is well known, the Gupta inscriptions of Bengal are unique and singular in the copious and concrete data they contain in regard to transactions for transfer of land for public purposes, charitable and religious. In describing these land transactions they throw a flood of light on the machinery of village government and rural administration. Dr. Sen brings to the task of explaining this ancient Local Administration all his scholarly training and erudition by which he has been able to call up a vivid and graphic picture of its actual working. His work is remarkable not merely for its valuable material and matter, but also for the manner of his presentation which is at once lucid and logical, analytical and synthetic, so that the reader is not lost in the details and does not miss the forest in its trees. Dr. Sen shows a rare combination of the somewhat contradictory capacities of an Archaeologist and a Historian. Both are very well blended in him, I hope Indian Historical Literature will be enriched by many more scholarly writings from his learned pen.

RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJEE

NARAYAN RAO PESHWA-YANCHA KHUN KI ATMAHATYA (Narayan Rao Peshwa—His Murder or Suicide?). By Pandurang Gopal Ranade. Published by the author, Belgaum, 2 vols., pp. 1312.

The author of this volumious work is a medical practitioner by profession and describes himself as proprietor of Maharastra Medical Factory at Belgaum. His attempt to throw new light upon a well-known episode of Maratha history—the tragic death of Peshwa Narayan Rao—reveals his enthusiasm rather than historical equipment. He has given us an unbalanced tirade against Nana Farnavis. He has consistently misrepresented the well-known facts relating to Maratha history during the period under review, and his exposition of his theories is not in keeping with the sober tradition of impartial historical research. A long introduction covering 198 pages, written by Mr. S. B. Nagarkar, contains the summary of his views and arguments. On the whole, this book should not be taken as typical of historical research done by Maratha scholars to-day.

A FORGOTTEN CHAPTER OF ANDHRA HISTORY. By M. Somasekhara Sarma. Published by the Andhra University, 1945, 136 pages.

This monograph deals with the history of the Musunuri Nayaks who came into prominence after the fall of the Kākatiyas of Warangal and liberated the Andhra country from the Muslim yoke. The author begins with the story of the fall of Warangal. He has tried to co-rrelate epigraphic evidence with information derived from Muslim chronicles, but his acquaintance with Persian works is obviously incomplete. It is difficult to accept his statement that Muhammad bin Tughluq was sent by Ala-ud-din Khalji to invade Telingana in 1302-3 A.D. But the author gives us a detailed and trustworthy account of the careers of Prolaya Nayaka and his cousin and successor, Kapaya Nayaka. The former ruled independently over the coastal region of the Andhra country and the latter re-occupied Warangal itself. In describing the re-conquest of Warangal the author has tried to utilise Muslim evidence, and he has based his conclusions on passages torn from the context. For instance, he has quoted Elliot's translation of Barani's well-known passage regarding Muhammad bin Tughluq's oppressive system of taxation and the consequent sufferings of the peasants, and forgetting that the statement applies only to the Doab, he has built upon it the conclusion that the peasants of Telingana were oppressed. Indeed Mr. Sarma might have given us a thoroughly authoritative account of an important local dynasty of the Andhra country if he had analysed the Persian chronicles (in original) with proper care. But he should be congratulated on his successful handling of South Indian epigraphic and literary evidence.

SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF THE CARNATIC: IV: MD. KARIM'S SAWANIHAT-I-MUMTAZ. Translated into English by S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar, M.A., Ph. D. Published by the University of Madras, 1944, pages xv+301.

Professor Nainar's translations of Persian chronicles relating to the history of the Nawabs of the Carnatic are well-known to all students of modern Indian history. There will be general agreement with his statement that the rise of the Walajahi dynasty 'was an event of the greatest historical importance not only to the Carnatic and her immediate neighbours but to India generally,' although it is difficult to agree with him when he says that the rise of this local dynasty 'marks the creation of a Muslim nationality.'

The volume under review begins with the accession of Azim-ud-daula, Walajah III, in 1801. He died in 1819 and was succeeded by his eldest son Azam Jah, Walajah IV, who died in 1825. The Walajahi dynasty lost its political importance after 1801, but Professor Nainar suggests two important questions which deserve careful study: (1) How did the British manage to take out of the hands of the Nawab the administration of the Carnatic without an open rupture and without employment of force? (2) What were the exact legal implications and effects of the treaty of 1801? "The result of these studies," he remarks, "might convince an impartial student whether or not the members of the Walajahi family are mere stipendiaries of the British or their allies". On this interesting subject, however, the Persian chronicles throw very little light. The earnest student will have to ransack the archives of the British Government, but he cannot afford to neglect the chronicles put in an English garb by Professor Nainar's careful labour.

Apart from excellent translation and useful historical notes (supplied by Professor G. S. Srinivasachari) this volume also contains large extracts from relevant British documents, which have undoutedly enhanced its value. The translator had also added an elaborate index for all the four parts of his *Sources of the History of the Nawabs of the Carnatic.*

ANIL CHANDRA BANERJEE

THE ĀRYĀ-ŚATAKA OF APPAYYA DĪKṢITA. Edited for the first time by N. A. Gore, M.A., with a Sanskrit commentary of V. Raghavan, M.A., Ph. D. Published by the author, 12, Vishnu Sadan, 327, Sadashiva, Poona 2.

This is a critical edition of a small poem in one hundred verses in *āryā* metre of one Appayya Dīkṣita who may or may not be identical with the famous author of the same name. It is of the nature of a *stotra* or hymn addressed to Śiva. It is therefore more properly styled *Śaivāryāśataka* or *Śivāryāśataka* in two of the three manuscripts on which the edition is based. Instances of the wit and humour of the poet are pointed out by the learned editor in the introduction. The Sanskrit commentary is helpful in following the text without any difficulty.

JAINA LITERATURE IN TAMIL. By Prof. A. Chakravarti, M.A., I.E.S. (Rtd). Published by Jaina Siddhanta Bhavana, Arrah.

This gives an account of old Tamil works by authors who were Jains or are supposed to have been Jains. It covers almost the entire field of Tamil literature: ethical works, kāvya works, purāṇas, works on grammar and prosody, and lexicographical works. According to the learned author some of the best known works in Tamil, like the Tolkāppiyam, Kural, Nālaḍiyār and Śilappadikaram, were compositions of Jain authors. Most of the works dealt with in the book under review, however, have very little to do with Jainism proper. A number, of course, are based on Jain mythology and refer to the greatness of Jainism as well as Ahiṃsā. Literatures in the different provincial languages in India, which in olden times were meant for the ordinary people, generally contained few serious works on religion, philosophy or any other topic.

Prof. Chakravarti has given traditional accounts of some of the authors without referring to any authority and his inference of Jain influence, at least in a few cases, does not appear to be based on very firm grounds. To suspect, for instance, any such influence in a reference to Ahiṃsā or in the practice of vegetarianism among higher class people in Southern India seems to be going too far.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

WAR IN ANCIENT INDIA by V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, M.A., Madras University, with a foreword by Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Madras; published by Macmillan and Co., Limited, Madras, 1944; pages 416.

Inspite of the fact that there are in the field some important works (notably those by P. C. Chakravarti and G. T. Date) on the art and science of war in ancient India, Mr. V. R. R. Dikshitar, author of the volume under review, has to be congratulated for his attempt to place before students of Indian history a connected account of the Indian military tradition 'from the earliest times to the end of the Vijayanagar epoch' and for the industry and skill with which he has marshalled his data collected from various sources, chiefly Sanskrit and Tamil works.

The book is divided into nine chapters of which the first deals with the psychological background of war. Chapter II, divided into several sections, discusses the laws of war in ancient India, while chapter III, styled 'weapons of war as gathered from literature,' deals with bows and arrows, fire arms, the *amuktaka* and mystical weapons, and the representation of arms and armours in sculpture. Chapter IV describes the army and army divisions, chapter V departments of the army, and chapter VI strategy and tactics of war. Aerial and naval warfare of the ancient Indians forms the subject of chapter VII, while chapters VIII and IX deal respectively with diplomacy in war and with diplomatic agents. There are besides a good index, several appendices such as those on the flags of ancient India, war music and curiosities of war. It will be seen that the author's treatment of the subject is exhaustive.

The most interesting portions of the volume under review are the sections dealing with the fire-arms in ancient India in chapter III and with the aerial warfare of the Indians of old in chapter VII. The learned author finds reference to "fire arms with lead shots' in the *Atharva Veda*, to an *agni-yoga* in Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* which was virtually a bomb, and to 'bullet of iron' in the *Matsya Purāṇa*, and says (p. 105), "The conclusion is unmistakable that guns were largely in use even not far after the beginning of the Christian era." It seems probable, if one may follow the psychology backing the above suggestions, to find now in the 'atom bombs' used by the Anglo-Americans in the world war of 1939-45 a modern version of an ancient Indian weapon like the *pāśupatāstra* whose unthinkable destructive capacity is described in the Epic and Puranic literature. Again, Mr. Dikshitar believes that a passage of the *Ṛgveda* "may refer to aerial navigation in the earliest times" (p. 276). He also refers to the *Samarāṅganasūtradhāra*, ascribed to Bhoja (eleventh century A.D.), which proves the existence in ancient India of aeroplanes which could not only attack 'visible and invisible objects' but could also mount up to the solar and stellar regions and travel through the air above the sea and the earth (pp. 276-77). It is pointed out that the use of the aerial cars "was more or less the exclusive privilege of kings and aristocrats" (p. 282).

There is however an important side of this interesting problem about the existence of guns and aeroplanes in ancient India; but that has unfortunately failed to draw the attention of the learned author. If the use of guns and aerial cars was sufficiently well known to the ancient Indian kings, why then were they not applied against the conquering hordes led by Alexander of Macedon, Mahmud of Ghazni a contemporary of Bhoja and Muizuddin Muhammad of Ghūr who are known to have had no knowledge of those things? If it is suggested that the Indian rulers were defeated inspite of their aerial gunning and bombardment, how could the Greek and Muslim chroniclers of the foreign expeditions in India fail to take notice of those wonderful instruments of warfare unknown in their own lands? How is it that the use of guns and aeroplanes is not attributed to ancient India by any of the talented foreign travellers including Megasthenes, Hiuen Tsang and Al-Biruni? Why is the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (middle of the twelfth century A.D.), describing numerous battles with unusual clarity, silent about their use in connection with the expeditions led by the ancient *digvijayins* of Kashmir? These are some of the questions that, in the opinion of sceptics like ourselves, Mr. Dikshitar should have answered or, at least, be ready to discuss in the next edition of his work.

We have noticed some unwarranted statements in the book; e. g., the ascription of the accession of king Gopāla of Bengal to the ninth century (p. 23). They are however not so serious as another shortcoming of the volume under review. The learned author does not appear to have consulted Buddhist and Jain works of any period. Thus even the celebrated *Mahāśilā-kaṇṭaka* and *Ratha-muṣala* which Ajātaśatru applied in his war against Vaiśāli (cf. Ray Chaudhuri, *PHAI*, 4th ed. pp. 172-73) have not found mention in Mr. Dikshitar's section on the ancient Indian weapons. Some late works such as the *Garga-saṃhitā* (Bangabasi ed., Calcutta) which undoubtedly speaks of the cannon may have been referred to in his section on the fire arms.

We draw the attention of the author to the above points with the hope that the next edition of this important work may be entirely free from defects.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR

# Select Contents of Oriental Journals

### **Bharatiya Vidya**, vol. VI, nos. 3 & 4 (March & April, 1945)

P. V. Kane.—*The Mahābhāṣya and the Bhāṣya of Śabara.* Passages cited from different parts of the *Mīmāṃsā-bhāṣya* of Śabara lead to the conclusion that the author was well acquainted with the *Vyākaraṇa-mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali.

N. K. Sinha.—*Sha Shuja in Lahore (1813-45).* Shà Shuja, the Durrani king of Kabul residing in Lahore for two years as a fugitive received a somewhat shabby treatment at the hands of Ranjit Singh.

M. R. Majmudar.—*Vāyu-worshippers in Gujarat.* The metal images of Vāyu and temples dedicated to that deity are peculiar to Gujarat. Vāyu in the Hindu mythology is one of the Dikpālas guarding the north-west corner (Vāyu-koṇa). This deity became important to the merchants of Gujarat as they had to carry on sea-borne trade with regions situated in the north-west corner of the Arabian Sea.

C. N. Joshi.—*A Ms. of Ghaṭakarpara Kāvya with a New Commentary.*

H. C. Dhyani.—*M.I.A. Miscellany.* The note deals with the nature of some verses and vocables in 'Middle Indo-Aryan.'

R. C. Hazra.—*The Ādipurāṇa.* The *Ādipurāṇa* published by the Venkateśvara Press deals with Kṛṣṇa's life and promulgates His glory. Quoted in the *Haribhaktivilāsa* and the *Laghubhāgavatāmṛta*, the Purāṇa is not of much antiquity. It should not be identified with the earlier work of the same name enumerated as one of the Upapurāṇas, which is found quoted in various Smṛti Nibandhas.

### **Ibid.**, vol. VI, no. 6 (June, 1945)

R. C. Majumdar.—*The Dynasty of Bhagadatta.* The Purāṇic king Bhagadatta is well-known as an ancestor of a ruling dynasty of Kāmarūpa which is identified with the ancient Prāgjyotiṣa. A royal consort of Nepal in the eighth century is mentioned in an inscription as a daughter of king Harṣa of the Bhagadatta line. This Harṣa is surmised to have belonged to the Kara dynasty of Orissa. Another inscription found at Hatun on the Gilgit river in the Punjab also names Paṭṭoladeva-sāhi as descending from Bhagadatta. It is a problem whether these descendants of Bhagadatta ruling in Assam, Orissa and Gilgit did trace their origin to the same mythical hero. A reference in the *Rājataraṅginī* to a Prāgjyotiṣa in the northern part of India gives rise to the suggestion that the ruling family in Gilgit tracing descent from Bhagadatta might have moved along the Himālayas, finally settling in Assam, carrying, of course, to their new home the family tradition as well as the name of Prāgjyotiṣa.

K. G. SANKAR.—*Chronology of the Early Ceras.*

D. S. TRIVEDA.—*A New Sheet-Anchor of History.* This is an attempt to show that the starting point of the Indian Kaliyuga era which is placed in 3101 B.C., marks also the beginning of many other eras known in the ancient world, including Chinese, Egyptian, Babylonian, and Chaldean.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR.—*Kālapriya and Brahmaśilā.* Rājaśekhara, who lived at Kanauj under the patronage of the Pratihāra kings, mentions two localities Kālapriya and Brahmaśilā as lying in the south and east respectively. This Kālapriya seems to be the place where Bhavabhūti's dramas are declared to have been first staged before Kālapriya-nātha, the presiding deity of the locality. It is here identified with modern Kālpī in Jalaon district of U.P. about 75 miles to the south of Kanauj. Brahmaśilā, which is suggested to have been "no other than Brahmashil mentioned by Al-Bīrūnī", is placed in the Doab between Kanauj and Allahabad.

D. R. MANKAD.—*Derivation of Piśāca and Paiśācī.* Piśāca was a country deriving its name from the basic *paśca* which means west or back as in the words *paścima* and *paścāt*. *Piśācas* were thus a western people, and Paiśācī their language. "When the Aryans were in the Upper Punjab and Kashmir, our modern Dardic regions will be the western or Piśāca regions. When the Aryans came to the Gangetic plains, the western people and region will include Malwa, Sind, Gujarat etc."

P. K. GODE.—*Studies in the Regional History of Indian Paper Industry (Paper-manufacture at Behar and Arwal in A.D. 1811-1812 as described by Francis Buchanon).*

**Brahmavidyā**, vol IX, pt. 2 (May, 1945)

C. KUNHAN RAJA.—*Śrutis, Svaras and Grāmas.* The *śrutis, svaras* and *grāmas* of Indian music have been interpreted.

K. MADHAVA KRISHNA SARMA.—*Vīramitrodaya.* The great Smṛti digest *Vīramitrodaya* of Mitramiśra consists, as mentioned by the author himself, of 22 Sections called Prakāśas, only a few of which have yet been published. The Anup Sanskrit Library of Bikaner possesses Mss. of as many as 17 Prakāśas including the Pratiṣṭhā, Śuddhi, Śrāddha, Dāna, Vrata, Samaya, Śānti, Prāyaścitta and Bhakti, which are not available elsewhere. The mss. are dated A.C. 1629, 1630 and 1632 and were therefore copied only after a few years of their composition.

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### Bulletin of the Baroda State Museum and Art Gallery,
vol. I, part II

H. GOETZ.—*A Dynamic Theory of Indian Art History.*

B. BHATTACHARYYA.—*Seven Buddhist Sculptures.* Seven sculptures described here represent either the Buddha or a Buddhist deity. Now preserved in the Baroda Musuem, they were collected from Kurkihāra in Bihar.

UMAKANT P. SHAH.—*Jain Sculptures in Baroda Museum.*

O. C. GANGOLY.—*A Group of Vallabhācārya or Nāth-dwāra Paintings and their Relatives.* This is a study of an aspect of the Rājasthāna art dealing with Kṛṣṇa's life among the Gopīs.

A. S. GADRE.—*Seven Bronzes in the Baroda State Museum.*

### Indian Culture, vol. XII, no. 1 (July-September, 1945)

B. C LAW.—*Animals in Early Jain and Buddhist Literature.*

DASARATHA SHARMA.—*Nṛpati-parivrājaka and Rāval. Rāval,* which is a Prakrit form of the word *Rājakula,* should not be regarded as having any connection with *parivrājaka* in the expression *nṛpati-parivrājaka* as applied to Suśarman.

BISHNUPADA BHATTACHARYA.—*On the Validity of Smṛti Canons.* Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, the great propounder of the Mīmāṃsā system, acknowledging the self-authoritativeness of the Śruti, has a long discourse on the relative position of Smṛti and codes of heterodox systems with reference to the Veda.

T. K. JOSEPH.—*Christianity in South India.* Certain Documents prove the existence of (i) Foreign Christians in Cochin in 317 A.C., (ii) Indigenous Christians in Coromandel and Travancore in 293 and 315 A.C. (iii) Christians in Malabar *circa* 535 A.C.

### Journal of the Bihar Research Society,
vol. XXXI, parts I & II (March & June, 1945)

PERCY BROWN.—*The Art of Nepal.* The portraits, the woodwork architecture as found in the shrines, the buildings and other monuments of the cities of Nepal show the height of the artistic excellence that the Newars attained in the Mediæval period.

JAGAN NATH.—*The Kaliyugarājavṛttānta and the Imperial Guptas.* Doubts are expressed about the antiquity and authenticity of the verses comprising the *Kaliyugarājavṛttānta* as published in a previous issue of the Journal. The inaccurate and suspicious character of its contents in respect of the history of the Imperial Guptas has also been pointed out.

TUHINIKA CHATTERJI.—*Palm-leaf Mss. from Chinese Turkestan.* This long paper translated from the German of Lüders deals with the types and peculiarities of the fragments discovered in Chinese Turkestan. These fragments are the oldest manuscript remains preserved outside India, and contain among them portions of dramas "older than all that is preserved to us in dramatic arts of India."

Ibid., XXXI, part III

S. C. SARKAR.—*Ancient Indian Principle of Occupation of Conquered Territory.* A chapter (XIII. 5) from the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya has been translated into English and elucidated to show that Kauṭilya was not an out-and-out unscrupulous politician as some historians would believe. Kauṭilya was an efficient idealist, combining with his imperialistic tendency a really democratic and benevolent outlook.

S. A. SHERE.—*Three Interesting Mediæval Sculptures from District Saran.* The sculptures described are two images of Viṣṇu of the Trivikrama type and one image of Dancing Gaṇeśa with six hands. They belong probably to 'the Pāla period.'

P. ACHARYA.—*The Banai Copper-plates of Udaya Varāhadeva.* The inscriptions have been edited anew with improvement in readings.

G. RAMADAS.—*Sūrya-vaṃśī kings of Orissa.*

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# The Indian Historical Quarterly

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## Popular Buddhism

Early Buddhism though propagated in different provincial dialects could not be appreciated by the common-folk in general.[1] The insistence on retirement from worldly life was a great handicap in the way of its popularity; so during the first century of its existence, it remained confined to the recluses and monasteries, and hardly reached the home and the hearth. It was perhaps about a century after Buddha's death that the religion became dynamic, assimilating some of the ideas and thoughts current around and stepped down from its high pedestal of exclusiveness and abstruse ideals to appeal to the more intellectual and faithful among the common-folk. This move towards popularity too did not proceed far as we find that it just allowed a little scope for rituals of a sober character, a little of faith and worship, and a slight relaxation from the stringency of disciplinary rules. Aśoka as a ruler gave preference to the popular ideals, producing good citizens, and not to the spiritual, making the people unsocial. It cannot be ascertained how far Aśoka had a hand in the matter of making the religion popular but the history of the religion shows that after the days of Aśoka, it developed new aspects which became so very popular that the reoriented religion spread all over India, marking every notable spot with magnificent structures of rare artistic value, and ultimately reaching countries beyond the borders of India. There are, in fact, two stages in the course of its attainment of popularity, one of the pre-Aśokan days and other of the post-Aśokan.

### *I. Pre-Aśokan Period*

The pre-Aśokan form of the religion provided no scope for emotion, nor for devotion or worship, not to speak of rituals. Its dry-as-dust ethical principles and doctrinal teachings based on so-called reason hardly attracted the attention of the common-folk.

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[1] Cf. Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art in India*, p. 67: "Originally, Buddhism was only a philosophy, no religion; but therein consisted the weakness of the Buddha doctrines, which speedily became unpopular on that account."

Among the householders it was only the cultured few like Anāthapiṇḍika and Visākhā, Jīvaka and Āmrapālī, Citta and Nakulapitā who took interest in the religion and worked for its success. Among the recluses and intellectuals also there were not very many who could dive deep into the truths of the religion, and it was probably this lack of appreciation of his teachings that made Buddha hesitate to preach the religion to one and all.

### *Ecclesiastical Rituals*

In course of time, however, there was some accretion of rituals in the form of *trisaraṇa*, lower and higher ordinations, observance of *uposatha*, *vassā* and *pavāraṇā*. These rituals attracted some converts of a mediocre type and appreciably helped the enlargement of the body hitherto known as Śākyaputtiya Samaṇas. Around this body grew up a number of house-holders, who impressed by the saintly character of some of the monks as also by the simple ethical teachings of the religion, and the rituals of *Trisaraṇa*, and other ecclesiastical functions like *Pavāraṇā* requiring the services of laymen, avowed themselves as *upāsakas* and *upāsikās*.[2] It is rather remarkable that the religion did not yield to the wishes of the mass any further, by providing objects of worship or by allowing the laymen to take any part in the ecclesiastical functions.

*Trisaraṇa*. There was no form of prayer except an expression of faith in the *Triratna*. The three articles of faith, compulsory for every monk and nun or layman and lay-woman was the thrice utterance of the formula,—

(i) *Buddhaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi*
(ii) *Dhammaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi*
and (iii) *Saṃghaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi*.

There has been a good deal of discussion among the Buddhist scholiasts about the meaning of *saraṇa* and of *Buddha*, *Dharma* and *Saṅgha*. The best and the earliest interpretation is found in a few couplets preserved in the canonical texts.[3] These are.—

वहवः शरणं यान्ति पर्वतांश्च वनानि च ।
आरामंश्चैत्यवृक्षांश्च मनुष्या भयतर्जिताः ॥
न ह्येतच्छरणं श्रेष्ठं नैतच्छरणमुत्तमम् ।
नैतच्छरणमागम्य सर्वदुःखात् प्रमुच्यते ॥

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[2] Dutt, *Early Monastic Buddhism* (henceforth abbreviated as *EMB.*), I, chap. xii.

[3] *Dhammapada*, pp. 188-192; *Udānavarga*, xxvii, 28-30; *Divyāvadāna*, p. 164; *Abhidharmakośa*, iv, 80, etc. See L. de la Vallée Poussin, *Doctrine des Réfuges*, in "Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques," i, (1931-32), p. 75.

यस्तु बुद्धं च धर्मं संघं च शरणं गतः ।
आर्यसत्यानि चत्वारि पश्यति प्रज्ञया सदा ॥
दुःखं दुःखसमुत्पादं दुःखस्य समतिक्रमम् ।
आर्यं चाष्टाङ्गिकं मार्गं क्षेमनिर्वाणगामिनम् ॥
एतद्धि शरणं श्रेष्ठं एतच्छरणमुत्तमम् ।
एतच्छरणमागम्य सर्वदुःखात् प्रमुच्यते ॥

In these couplets, *saraṇaṃ* means 'seeking protection' from evils. In the formulae of *Triratna*, the protection that one seeks is not from the worldly evils but from the suffering to which a human being is destined.[4] Such protection can be secured by developing faith in Buddha, Dharma and Saṅgha, and by realising the four truths and the eightfold path, and not by leading solitary meditative life in the hills or forests nor by visiting temples and shrines (*caityas*).

The faith in the *Triratna* is usually expressed in these terms:

(I) *Iti pi so Bhagavā arahaṃ sammāsambuddho vijjācaraṇasampanno sugato lokavidu anuttaro purisadammasārathi satthā devamanussānaṃ*.

(Bhagavā, the enlightened, is endowed with knowledge and good conduct, he is the knower of the world, the guide in disciplining men, the incomparable, the teacher of men and gods).

(ii) *Svakkhāto Bhagavatā dhammo sandiṭṭhiko akāliko ehipassiko opanayiko paccattaṃ veditabbo viññūhi*.

(The Dhamma preached by Bhagavā produces fruit in his life, invites everybody, has no limitation of time, leads one to the goal and is realisable only by the wise within one's ownself).

(iii) *Supaṭipanno Bhagavato sāvakasaṅgho yad idam cattāri purisayugāni aṭṭhapurisapuggalā, esa Bhagavato sāvakasaṅgho āhuṇeyyo pāhuṇeyyo dakkhiṇeyyo añjalikaraṇiyo anuttaraṃ puññkkhettaṃ lokassa*.

(The Saṅgha consists of monks, who are in one of the four stages of sanctification, are righteous, exerting for knowlege, observing good conduct, who are worthy of gifts, praise and respects, and who are fit recipients of gifts from laymen).

The Buddhist scholiasts,[5] who were imbued with the principles of early Buddhism, were at a loss to justify these three articles of faith. Some of them, who looked upon Buddha's mortal body as impure, said that 'Buddha' in the formulae implied a collection of *dharmas*, while *Dharma* implied only the last two truths viz., *duḥkha-nirodha*[6] and the *aṣṭāṅgikamārga*, which are pure, the other two denoting impure *dharmas*. Saṅgha in the formulae implied *śīlas* or the moral duties which make a person an *arhat*, and not merely a member of the order. It is doubtful how far this interpretation of the scholiasts appealed to the common-folk. We know that the utterance of the *Trisaraṇa* formulae was made compulsory for both monks and laity, and that this utterance alone transformed a non-Buddhist to a Buddhist.[7] Hence, we may safely state that these three articles of faith served as a means of popularising the religion, and these were also looked upon as spells (*paritta*) for protection from evils, or evil destiny.

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[4] *Sumaṅgala Vilāsini*, I, p. 230.

[5] See La Vallée Poussin, *op. cit.* In the *Jñānaprasthāna sūtra*, we find the following exposition:—

(i) The real *dharmas*, which have for name or appellation or designation the expression 'Buddha'—those who take refuge in the *Aśaikṣa-dharmas*, which make the Buddha, are said to take refuge in Buddha.

(ii) The real *dharmas*, which have for their name, appellation or designation the word 'Dharma'—those who take refuge in the removal of thirst.

The utterance of the *Trisaraṇa* is usually followed nowadays by taking the vow of observing the first five *śīlas* and then by chanting the *Maṅgala Sutta*. In the canonical texts, however, there is no indication of this procedure.

*Uposatha*. It is admitted in the Vinaya[8] that the idea of holding fortnightly meetings was suggested to Buddha by Bimbisāra, whose object was that the monks should deliver religious discourses to the people at large on certain days of the month. These assemblies however soon turned into ritualistic institutions, requiring monks to be present at the meetings and confess their sins, if any committed during the preceding fortnight, after the formal recital of the Pātimokkha rules.[9] This ceremony undoubtedly gave satisfaction to a class of monks who viewed the observance of Pātimokkha rules as more important than the inner spiritual development and attracted some men of the mediocre type.

*Pabbajjā* and *Upasampadā*. The ceremony of ordination was originally a very simple affair. It was done by Buddha by the mere utterance of *ehi bhikkhu*. Gradually it turned into a fairly long ceremony with two ordinations, one lower (*pabbajjā*) and

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i.e., destruction, detachment, Nirvāṇa, are said to have taken refuge in Dharma.

(iii) The real *dharmas*, which have for their name, appellation or designation the word 'Saṃgha'—those, who take refuge in both the *Śaikṣa* and *Aśaikṣa-dharmas*, are said to have taken refuge in the Saṃgha.

[6] *Divyāvadāna*, p. 617.

[7] *EMB.*, II, Ch. XII.

[8] *Vinaya*, i. p. 617.

[9] For details see *EMB.*, vol. I, pp.

the other higher (*upasampadā*).[10] This ceremony, which required shaving of head, donning of yellow robes and living in a monastery, attracted some men who could not fully comprehend the philosophical teachings. In the *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* there are also some hints about the gains and honour received by an ordained person, e.g. it is said that the immediate gain of a person, whatever his status might be before his ordination, is that he is respected by kings and nobles, and obtains robes, food, bed, medicine and other requisites.[11]

*Vassāvāsa, Pavāraṇā* and *Kaṭhina*.[12] The other ceremonial functions which gradually crept into the religion were the formal observance of the rainy season retreat. The monks were required to stay during the three months of the rainy season at a fixed abode. At the close of the retreat, the monks performed the *Pavāraṇā* ceremony, which is similar to the *Uposatha*, but on account of the occasion on which it is performed, special importance was attached to it, and householders were told that gifts made on this particular occasion were more meritorious than at other times. With this *Pavāraṇā* ceremony was associated another ceremony called *Kaṭhina* in which the making of robes formed the chief object. These two ceremonies Pavāraṇā and Kaṭhina served to popularise the religion not only among those who wanted to join the order but also among the householders, who patiently waited for these days for making their gifts, particularly robes, and thereby assure their happiness in this existence and rebirth in the heavens.

The ceremonies mentioned above were no doubt useful for the spiritual development of a person, but strictly speaking, were not in consonance with the principles laid down for the attainment of spiritual perfection. It has got to be admitted that these ceremonies were introduced in imitation of, or competition with, other contemporary religious systems in order to secure more converts, and it is not improbable that by these ceremonies, the religion attracted more men than it would otherwise had done.

### *Worship of Cetiya and Stūpa*

Neither in the *Vinaya* nor in the *Sutta-piṭaka*, except the *Mahāparinibbānasutta*, there is any direction for making and worshipping *Cetiyas* and *Stūpas*. In the *Vinaya* there is mention of two Cetiyas[13] where Buddha stopped, while in the *Pāṭikasuttanta*[14] as also in the of early Buddhism, were at a loss to justify these three articles of faith. Some of them, who looked upon Buddha's mortal body as impure, said that 'Buddha' in the formulae implied a collection of *dharmas*, while *Dharma* implied only the last two truths viz., *duḥkha-nirodha*[6] and the *aṣṭāṅgikamārga*, which are pure, the other two denoting impure *dharmas*. Saṅgha in the formulae implied *śīlas* or the moral duties which make a person an *arhat*, and not merely a member of the order. It is doubtful how far this interpretation of the scholiasts appealed to the common-folk. We know that the utterance of the *Trisaraṇa* formulae was made compulsory for both monks and laity, and that this utterance alone transformed a non-Buddhist to a Buddhist.[7] Hence, we may safely state that these three articles of faith served as a means of popularising the religion, and these were also looked upon as spells (*paritta*) for protection from evils, or evil destiny.

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[10] For details, see *EMB.*, vol. I, pp. 280-281.

[11] *Dīgha.*. i. p. 61-62.

[12] For details, see *EMB.*, I, p. 292-3.

[13] *Vinaya*. i, p. 35: Supatiṭṭha cetiya near Rājagaha; ii. p. 172: Aggālavacetiya at Alavi.

[14] *Dīgha*, iii. p. 9-10.

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*Mahāparinibbānasutta*,[15] there are references to the Cetiyas situated around Vesāli, viz.,Gotamaka-cetiya on the south, Sattamba-cetiya on the west, Bahuputta-cetiya on the north. The other Cetiyas mentioned in the *Mahāparinibbānasutta* are Udena, Sarandada, Cāpāla,[16] Ānanda,[17] (in Bhoganagara), and Makuṭabandhana[18] of the Mallas.

From the list of cetiyas given above, it is apparent that long before Buddhism made its appearance, there was prevalence of worship of *cetiyas*, which might be a tree, a stone and a spot believed to be sanctified or haunted by a good or evil spirit.[19] The existence of Cetiyas is taken as an admitted fact by Buddha himself.

Apart from the Cetiyas, there was also the ancient custom of erecting mounds (*stūpas*) on the relics of saintly persons or distinguished kings, princes and nobles as also over the sites sanctified by a saint's presence. It was this ancient custom which we find re-iterated in the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*. Buddha is made to say that *stūpas* should be erected on the relics of (i) a Tathāgata, (ii) a Paccekabuddha, (iii) a Tathāgatasāvaka and (iv) a monarch (cakkavatti) evidently with a view to make the Buddhists refrain from erecting and worshipping any mound sanctified by a spirit or a non-Buddhist saint. The most suitable site recommended for the erection of a *stūpa*, is the crossing of four highways. Worship of such four kinds of *stūpas* by garlands, scents, or coloured powders was regarded as meritorious, as it gave an expression to one's deep faith in the religion. Along with these directions, there is the description of the manner in which the earthly remains of a Tathāgata should be cremated. The erection of *stūpas* over Buddha's relics has created history, and even today the sight of the relics deposited in some of the monasteries is a matter of awe and inspiration to the devotees.

The whole account of the erection and worship of *stūpas*, particularly over Buddha's relics and the merit accruing therefrom was undoubtedly incorporated into the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta* after Buddha's demise and had nothing to do with the great Teacher, who evidently could not have thought of what would become of his relics and who would be their claimants. This idea of erection and worship of *stūpas* was undoubtedly a post-Buddha development. The interpolator, who put in the directions for worshipping *cetiyas* and *stūpas* and held out the hope that by such worship one would be reborn in the heavens, realised the inconsistency with the principles of the religion, and immediately corrected himself by adding the remark that the advanced monks were not to occupy themselves with such worship of *stūpas*, and that they must exert to attain the goal while the worship of *stūpas* should be left to the laity alone, the wise brāhmaṇas, khattiyas and gahapatis.[20] The traditions about Aśoka's zeal to collect the relics and erect *stūpas* over them also prove that the stūpa-worship became widely prevalent. It is very likely that by Aśoka's time, the stūpa-worship became a regular feature of the religion.[21]

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[15] *Digha*, ii. pp. 102-3, 118.

[16] *Ibid.*

[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 123, 126.

[18] *Ibid.*, p. 160-61.

[19] See the gāthās cited above p. 246-7. Also Gisbert Combaz, *L'evolution du stūpa en Asie* in 'Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques', ii (1932-33), pp. 168ff.

### *Four Places of Pilgrimage*

Like the worship of *cetiyas* and *stūpas*, it must be sometime after Buddha's *parinirvāṇa* that the idea of pilgrimage came into the minds of some Buddhist monks, at whose instance, some imaginary discourses attributed to Buddha were incorporated into the *Mahāparinibbāna Sutta*. It sounds strange in the mouth of Buddha, who was all along averse to any form of worship[22] and taught *attadīpo attasaraṇo anaññasaraṇo dhammadīpo dhammasaraṇo anaññasaraṇo*[23] (depend on your own self as the light, as the refuge and not on anything else; depend on the *dhamma* as the light, as the refuge, and not on anything else) to have admonished his disciples to earn merit by paying a visit to the four places sanctified by his (i) birth, (ii) attainment of bodhi, (iii) promulgation of *dhammacakka* and (iv) *parinirvāṇa*. The inconsistency is at once apparent in the fact that one of the places recommended for visit is the site of his demise. Hence, there can be no doubt that the idea of pilgrimage was not that of Buddha but was of his disciples and of a time when Buddha had passed away. The idea, however, caught the imagination of the people, particularly, of the lay-disciples. The most remarkable an instance of this is that of Aśoka who paid a visit to the birthplace of Buddha, evidently with the hope of earning some merit. Throughout the history of Buddhism since the days of Aśoka, the idea of pilgrimage appealed strongly to the Buddhists, both monks and laymen, and even today the Buddhist devotees from far off countries like Burma and Ceylon, China and Japan regard this pilgrimage as an act of great merit.

### *Nirvāṇa through Faith*

In the earliest form of monastic Buddhism the only means recommended for the attainment of emancipation was perfection in the

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[20] *Dīgha*, ii, p. 141.

[21] See the account in the *Divyāvadāna*.

[22] *Dīgha*, ii, p. 138; *Na kho Ānanda ettavatā Tathāgato sakkato vā hoti garukato vā mānito vā pūjito vā apacito vā etc.*

[23] Cf. *Mahāvastu*, X. p. 334.

*śilacitta-paññā* practices.[24] Occasionally perfection in the *satipaṭṭhāna* practices was recognised as another means for reaching the goal,[25] but nowhere *saddhā* and practice of *brahmavihāra* were recognised as such. It is therefore striking that we should find in the *Majjhima Nikāya* a discourse[26] in which *saddhā* is made the basic and perfection in the *brahmavihāras* as the ultimate factors for the attainment of Nirvāṇa. This new path, which attached less importance to the observance of the Pātimokkha rules, was definitely a step towards making the religion popular among a certain section of the people, who were not able to lead the life of a bhikkhu.

*Saddhā* (faith)[27], as expressed in the formulae *Trisaraṇa*,[28] is mentioned as an essential element for spiritual progress, but that *saddhā* was looked upon only as an antidote to inclination to non-Buddhist religious faith. It was an antidote to *vicikicchā* or doubt about the greatness of Buddha, excellence of his teaching and uprightness of his disciples. In the *Vatthupamasutta*,[29] the process of attainment of *Nibbāna* through *saddhā* is detailed thus:—

(i) An adept should first get rid of the mental impurities, such as *abhijjhā* (undue desire for gain), *macchariya* (miserliness), *makkha* (hypocrisy), *māyā* (deceitfulness) *sāṭheyya* (double-dealing), *thambho-sārambho* (pride and haughtiness), *māno-atimāno* (conceit and over-conceit), *mada* (pride or excitement caused by attachment to one's own acquisitions), and *pamāda* (carelessness).

(ii) After the removal of the above-mentioned impurities, the adept is required to develop unflinching faith (*saddhā*) in the *Triratna*.

(iii) The more the mental impurities are removed the stronger becomes his faith (*saddhā*) in Buddha, Dhamma and Saṅgha. Such faith produces in his mind the satisfaction that he has achieved something good. Such satisfaction in turn produces joy and deep pleasure (*pīti*) which makes the body calm and the mind serene, and ultimately leads to mental concentration.

(iv) After developing perfect concentration of mind, the adept is required to practise the four *brahmavihāras*, in other words, he must practise *mettā* (love), *karuṇā* (compassion), *muditā* (feeling of

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[24] See *EMB.*, vol. I, pp. 199f.

[25] *Majjhima*, i, p. 55: Ekāyano ayaṃ bhikkhave maggo sattānaṃ visuddhiyā yad idaṃ cattāro satipaṭṭhanā.

[26] Vatthupamasutta, *Majjhima*, i, p. 36f.

[27] For an exhaustive exposition of *Saddhā*, see B. M. Barua, 'Faith in Buddhism' in *Buddhistic Studies*, p. 329.

Cf. Saddhāya tarati oghaṃ appamādena aṇṇavaṃ
viriyena dukkhaṃ acceti paññāya parisujjhati *Suttanipāta*, v. 184.

[28] See above, p. 246.

[29] *Majjhima*, i, p. 36f.

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joy at others' success) and *upekkhā* (equanimity) towards all beings of all corners of the world.[30]

(v) After attaining perfection in the four *brahmavihāras*, the adept realises the four truths, removes the three impurities (*āsavas*) viz., *kāma* (desire), *bhava* (desire for rebirth) and *avijjā* (ignorance of the truth). He then feels convinced that he has completed his task, and will have no more rebirth, i. e., he attains Nibbāna. Thus we see that by *saddhā* and *brahmavihāra* one could achieve *Nibbāna* and this path could be taken by the householders as there was no question of renunciation or observance of Pātimokkha rules. This new process was really a move to make the religion popular among the householders and a product of a time midway between Buddha and Aśoka.

It may be argued that *saddhā* is not devotion (*bhakti*)[31] and hence it has no fitting place in the popular form of the religion. There is some force in this argument, but what is needed to be pointed out is that *saddhā* eliminates the long process of observance of *sīlas*, i. e., the *pātimokkha* rules, and the process dealt with above eliminates many of the arduous tasks imposed upon a monk to attain perfection in the four *jhānas*, and to comprehend the *anattā* and *anicca* theories. It brings a new element, the *brahmavihāras*, which so far had no place in early Buddhism. In short, it is a new and shorter process suited to a person who is not necessarily a monk or nun, and that it was meant so is clear from the remarks in the above mentioned *sutta* that a person taking recourse to this new process may take luxurious food as that of a householder and that it would not stand in his way of attaining the goal. This is significant of the fact that the process was intended more for the laity than for the recluses. and actually we find this particular course recommended to the householder, Mahānāma,[32] who was addressed by Buddha in these words: "O Mahānāma, when you bear in mind that you have unflinching faith in the *Triratna*, when you realise that you have observed the precepts fully, when you are convinced that you are great in charity and when you feel assured that you possess *saddhā*, *sīla*, *suta*, *cāga* and *paññā* as that of the gods, you would surely be reborn as a god. Again, when your mind becomes free from attachment (*rāga*), hatred (*dosa*) and delusion (*moha*) and you will feel that you have achieved something good, you will have joy and serene pleasure, which in turn will make your body calm and at ease and your mind will get concentrated". In another discourse[33] the same Mahānāma was told that an upāsaka by firm faith could become quick-witted (*hāsapaññā javanapaññā*) and attain emancipation by the realisation of *akiñcaññā* (desirelessness whether for heavenly life or Nibbāna,) *suññatā* (essencelessness of worldly objects) and *animittatā* (characteristiclessness of worldly objects). In the *Majjhima Nikāya*,[34] however, it is pointed out that some monks by *saddhā* attain the Anāgāmi stage only, because they regard Bhagavā as omniscient and that his teaching excellent and they exert strenuously so that their bodies become dried up into skin, bones and sinews. It seems, therefore, that *saddhā* gradually rose in the estimation of the Buddhist monks and came to be recognised as a means to the goal. The importance of *saddhā* in the life of laymen has already been dealt with; it assured them rebirth in one of the heavens, and it was only a step further that *saddhā* combined with the perfection in *brahmavihāras* brought them full emancipation.

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[30] See *infra* and *EMB.*, I, p. 228f.

[31] Contrast Har Dayal's remarks in his *Bodhisattva Doctrine*, p. 32.

[32] See *Aṅguttara*, V, pp. 320-332.

The early Buddhists were aware of the practice of *brahmavihāras*, which they classed as *appamaññas* (immeasurables). By this practice one developed a sublime mental state,—in which, he could look upon all beings of the world with the same feeling of love and compassion as one would have towards his son;—in which, he felt happy at the spiritual or material success of every person, be he a friend or foe; and—in which, he remains unmoved by weal or woe. The *brahmavihāras*, however were not included in the list of thirty-seven *bodhipakkhiya* and other *dhammas* which Buddha declared as his own teaching.[35] In the *Visuddhimagga*, their place is given after the four *jhānas* (meditations) and before the four *samāpattis* (higher trances),[36] but in any case, their practice was not regarded as compulsory for the attainment of Nibbāna. The trend of the remarks in the Pāli texts[37] is that their practice led to rebirth in one of the Brahmalokas only, i.e., the highest form of existence in the constituted sphere, in other words, it did not conduce to Nibbāna. These remarks point to the fact that practice of *brahmavihāras* did not form a part of original Buddhism.

Mrs. Rhys Davids, it seems, was justified in writing that it was taught by the "unknown co-founder of Buddhism."[38] The fact that these practices appear also in the *Yogasūtra* of Patañjali leads us to infer that these originated among the non-Buddhist or pre-Buddhist thinkers. The nature of mental practices envisaged in the *brahma-*

[33] *Saṃyutta*, v, pp. 376f.

[34] *Majjhima*, i, p. 480-481.

[35] See *Majjhima*, ii, p. 11f.

[36] See *EMB*., I, p. 228f.

[37] *Majjhima*, ii, p. 76; *Digha*, i, p. 251; *Aṅguttara*, ii, p. 129.

[38] C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *Gotama*, p. 180; *JRAS*., 1928, p. 271.

*vihāras* also suggest that these were meant more for the householders than for the recluses.[39] In the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* the practice of *brahmavihāras* is given a place next to the *pāramitās*.[40] While in the *Mahāvastu*[41] it is stated that a monk can attain *nirvāṇa* by practising the four *brahmavihāras*. In the *Daśabhūmikasūtra*, the practice of *brahmavihāras* is placed next to the four *dhyānas* in the exercises prescribed for the attainment of the third *bhūmi*.[42] A bodhisattva is expected to continue this practice of four *brahmavihāras* up to the seventh *bhūmi*,[43] in which he realises the *tathatā*, and goes beyond the training stage.

## *Relaxation of Disciplinary Rules*

There is a hint, in the path of *saddhā* and *brahmavihāra*, that for the attainment of Nirvāṇa, one need not always be a strict observer of the monastic rules of discipline (see above). Buddha no doubt laid more emphasis on the control of the mind than on the control of body and speech,[44] though it was far from his intention that his followers should show laxity in observing monastic rules. A century after Buddha's death, appeared the Mahāsaṅghikas who put a new interpretation on Buddha's directions, and set on foot a movement against the rigid orthodoxy of the earlier disciples, whose overzealousness for the observance of monastic rules led to the sacrifice of essentials. It is an indication that a group of thinkers attached more value to the purification of body and mind and the study of logic than to the punctillious observance of Vinaya rules. We have on the authority of Paramārtha, the following statement attributed to the Kaukulikas an off-shoot of the Mahāsaṅghikas that "a bhiksu may or may not have three robes for covering his body; may or may not reside in a monastery; and may or may not take his meal within the time-limit. The Vinaya rules about residence and food were abrogated by Buddha; it is clear that the real teaching of Buddha was not Vinaya; but the study of the logical principles (*nyāya*),[45] i.e., Abhidharma. According to the Dharmaguptas, the Prātimokṣa rules were lost when the *saddharma* disappeared, hence there are no more rules, *sīmabandha* and *karmānta*.[46]

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[39] See above.

[40] p. 142

[41] iii, p. 421.

[42] *Ibid.*, p. 276.

[43] *Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism*. Ch. IV.

[44] *Majjhima*. i, p. 372: Imesaṃ tiṇṇaṃ kammānaṃ evaṃ paṭivibhattānaṃ manokammaṃ mahasāvajjataraṃ paññāpemi.

[45] See Paul Demiéville *L'origine des sects bouddhiques* in *Mélanges chinois et bouddhiques*, vol. I (1931-32) pp. 19-46.

[46] *Abhidharmakośa*. iv. 39.

It is not improbable that this new viewpoint attracted a large number of recruits and helped to increase its followers. The relaxation in the monastic rules, of course, had nothing to do with the laity, and so whatever appeal, it could have, was confined to the monks and nuns.

We may now sum up the factors that made Buddhism popular in the pre-Aśokan period thus:—

(i) *Trisaraṇa* was regarded as the three articles of faith.

(ii) The ecclesiastical ceremonies gave satisfaction to the less philosophically minded disciples.

(iii) Worship of *Caityas* and *Stūpas* allowed some scope for the expression of devotion (*bhakti*).

(iv) Visits to the four places of pilgrimage were looked upon as attractive means of earning merit.

(v) *Saddhā* and *brahmavihāra* practices were regarded by some persons as the simpler and shorter means for the attainment of Nibbāna. And lastly,

(vi) Relaxation in the stringency of the Vinaya rules appealed to a class of persons who did not approve the rigid orthodoxy of the earlier schools of disciples.

### ii. Post-Aśokan Period

The few deviations from the earliest principles of Buddhism dealt with above were hardly enough to make the religion popular. The persons who took to *saddhā* and *brahmavihāra* path for emancipation were few and far between; the emphasis was still on the monastic life. The cult of *cetiya*- and *stūpa*-worship made very little progress and the householders with their *Trisaraṇa* and other rituals still remained outside the Buddhist fold as mere suppliers of material needs of the monks and nuns and as faithful listeners to the moral discourses delivered to them by the monks on certain occasions. The Aśokan edicts reveal no change in this austere attitude of the early Buddhists—the only relieving feature being that Aśoka favoured the view that the people should not care very much for recluse-life and should perform good deeds (*kuśalakarmapathas*) to ensure them an after-life in the heavens. Hence we may say that the real move to make the religion popular among the common-folk was taken after Aśoka. This movement consisted mainly in the following five ways:—

(i) Deification of Buddha.

(ii) Compilation of Jātaka-literature.

(iii) Sanction of Image-worship.

(iv) Introduction of Pāramitā-cult. And

(v) Promulgation of Bodhisattva Doctrine.

## *Deification of Buddha*

In the pre-Aśokan days, Buddha had already come to be looked upon as the highest god superior to Brahmā, Viṣṇu or Śiva. This deification should be attributed first to the Mahāsaṅghikas and the Andhakas, and then to the Sarvāstivādins. It has been shown[47] while discussing the doctrines of the Mahāsaṅghikas and their offshoots that Buddha had been given all the attributes of the highest god, and that his appearance in this world was only a make-belief. He took birth as Siddhārtha Gautama, went through all the ways of a householder and ultimately renounced the world to become a saint just in order to follow the ways of the world (*lokānuvartana*).[48] Buddha was supra-mundane (*lokottara*) and was made of pure *dharmas*. Everything of the great *ṛṣi* was transcendental including his advent into the world. In the *Mahāvastu*,[49] he is described thus:—

लोकोत्तरा भगवतो चर्या लोकोत्तरं कुशलमूलम् ।
गमनं स्थितं निषण्णं शयितं लोकोत्तरं मुनिनो ॥
यत् तत् सुगतशरीरं भवते भवस्य बन्धनक्षयकरणम् ।
लोकोत्तरं तदपि भो इत्यत्र न संशयः कार्यो ॥
चीवरधरणं मुनिनो लोकोत्तरं अत्र संशयो नास्ति ।
आहाराहरणमथो लोकोत्तरमेव सुगतस्य ॥
देशना नरनागानां सर्वलोकोत्तरा मता ।
यथातथं प्रवक्ष्यामि माहात्म्यं वरबुद्धिनाम् ॥
देशकालवशं प्राप्य परिपाकं च कर्मणः ।
सत्यं वा अभिनिर्वृतं धर्मं देशीन्ति नायकाः ॥
लोकानुवर्तनां बुद्धा अनुवर्तन्ति लोकिकीम् ।
प्रज्ञप्तिमनुवर्तन्ति यथा लोकोत्तरामपि ॥ etc.

The above and other passages in the *Mahāvastu* leave no room for doubt that about the time of its composition (i.e., 2nd century B.C.),[50] Buddha had already become the highest god, at least, to a large section of the Buddhists.

The account of Buddha's life in the *Lalitavistara*, the accredited text of the Sarvāstivādins, does not extol Buddha so much as has been done in the *Mahāvastu*. It is more realistic though it attributes divine and super-divine qualities to the Teacher. It says that 'Buddha while staying in the womb of his mother was enclosed in a casket and from there he was delivering discourses to the gods who paid him visits.[51] After his birth, he appears to exist at the same moment in all the houses built for him by the faithful. He pays the customary visit to the temples but the gods therein bow down to him. In his boyhood, he was so learned that the teacher stagger in his presence. In his youth, he possessed already all the kingly powers and skill and surpassed everybody in strength. In this text[52] he is eulogized thus:—

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[47] See *E.M.B.*, II, pp. 63, 75f.

[48] *Mahāvastu*, I, p. 167-8.

[49] *Ibid.*

[50] Winternitz, *History of Indian Literature*, II, p. 247.

[51] Cf. also *Mahavastu*, I, p. 214.

जातस्य मह्य इय कम्पितः त्रिसहस्रः ।
शक्रश्च ब्रह्मा सुराश्च महोरगाश्च ॥
चन्द्रश्च सूर्य तथ वैश्रवणः कुमारो ।
मूर्द्धा क्रमेषु निपतितस्य नमस्ययन्ते ॥
कतमोऽन्य देव मम उत्तरियो विशिष्टो ।
यस्मिन् मम प्रणयसे त्वमिहाद्य अम्ब ॥
देवातिदेव अहू उत्तम सर्वदेवैः ।
देवो न मेऽस्ति सदृशः कुत उत्तरा वा ॥
लोकानुवर्तन प्रतीत इति अम्ब यास्ये ।
दृष्ट्वा विकुर्वित ममा जनता उदग्रा ॥
अधिमात्र गौरव करिष्यति चित्रिकारो ।
ज्ञास्यन्ति देवमनुजा स्वयमेव देवः ॥

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शास्त्राणि यानि प्रचरन्ति च देवलोके
संख्या लिपिश्च गणनाऽपि च धातुतन्त्रम् ।
ये शिल्पयोग पृथुलौकिक अप्रमेया-
स्तेष्वेषु शिक्षितु पुरा बहुकल्पकोट्यः ॥
किन्तू जनस्य अनुवर्तनतां करोति
लिपिशालामगतुं सुशिक्षित-शिक्षणार्थम् ।
परिपाचनार्थं बहुदारक अग्रयाने
अन्यांश्च सत्त्वनियुतानमृते विनेतुम् ॥

Though this text maintains a more sober outlook than the *Mahāvastu*, there is no doubt that Buddha was regarded by the Sarvāstivādins as a divine being though not the highest god. Though he was proficient in everything, he followed the ways of the world to educate the people. The time of composition of this work, according to Winternitz, spread over a long period commencing from the early Christian eras.[53] It may therefore be safely stated that in the

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[52] R. L. Mitra, *Lalitavistara*, pp. 136, 142.

[53] See Winternitz, *op. cit.*, p. 255-6: "It is therefore only correct to say that the *Lalitavistara* offers us very old traditions concerning the Buddha legend, as well as some which are centuries later"........"It is, however, most informative as regards the development of the Buddha legend from its earliest beginnings when only the chief events in the life of the great founder of the religion are

2nd and 1st centuries B.C., a certain section of the Buddhists regarded Buddha as the highest god while another section as a great divine being, endowed with all possible virtues and knowledge.

We need not discuss the conception of the Sthaviravādins, who tried to maintain even at this day that Buddha was after all a human saint but with attributes surpassing those of the gods and that in purity and knowledge he was the highest of all constituted beings.[54] This school of thought maintained the realistic conception throughout its long history but it did not gain the same amount of popularity as the Mahāsaṅghikas and the Sarvāstivādins did in the southern and northern parts of India respectively. However realistic the Theravādins might have been, they had to yield to the popular demand of Buddha-worship, and in course of time they allowed the placing of images of Buddha in their temples, and in one of their late texts the *Mahāvaṃsa*, there is also an elaborate description as to how the first image of Buddha was made and how grand were the ceremonies and festivals for putting up the image.

### *Image-Worship*

In the *Mahāvastu* and the *Lalitavistara* Buddha is deified but there are no directions for making images of Buddha. The earliest literary evidence relating to image-making is yielded by the *Divyāvadāna*, in which Aśoka is found to be consulting Piṇḍola Bharadvāja regarding the features (*mahāpuruṣa-lakṣaṇa*) of the image.[55] In the *Mahāvaṃsa* too is recorded a similar attempt of Aśoka who consulted the Nāga king for an account of the image. One need not be so credulous as to take this tradition of Aśoka as authentic, but the fact is that the practice of image-worship was taken up by the Buddhists sometime before the 4th century A. D. about which time the *Divyāvadāna* and the *Mahāvaṃsa* were composed. We may now pass on to the monumental evidences. In the Sanchi and Barhut sculptures there are no images of Buddha. The most significant fact is that the seats of Buddha are shown as vacant. The earlier methods of indicating Buddha's place in a scene were by depicting his Vajrāsana, Bodhi tree or *pādukā* (wooden slippers) or stūpa. If the

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adorned with miracles, down to that boundless deification of the Master, in which, from the beginning to the end of his career he appears mainly as a god above all gods."

[54] *Majjhima*, i. p. 171 :—Sabbābhibhu sabbovidu'ham asmi/
sabbesu dhammesu anupalitata//
sabbaṃjaho taṇhakkhaye vimutto/
sayam abhiññāya kam uddisayyam// Cf. *Mahāvastu*

[55] See *Infro.*

date of Sanchi and Barhut sculptures be placed in the 2nd and 1st century B. C. we have to admit that image-worship did not prevail at that period. The practice of image-worship therefore came into vogue about the 1st or 2nd century A. D. at the earliest. The Amarāvati sculptures, belonging to the Mahāsaṅghikas and their offshoots, are studded with numerous Buddha-images but the dates of these sculptures are placed by the archaeologists in the 2nd century A. D.[56]

Though the image of Buddha is wanting in the earlier sculptures there are ample evidences to show the wide prevalence of symbol worship. The artists probably did not make an image of the omniscient refulgent Buddha with all the signs of great men (*mahāpuruṣa*), but the feeling of adoration to Buddha was there, and this they expressed by concourse of men and gods and even animals, bowing down reverentially to the stūpas, Bodhi-tree or the Vajrāsana, or offering flowers and garlands. In the post-Christian eras, however, the Buddha images not only came into vogue, but practically the Buddhist centres were flooded with such innumerable images, some of exquisite Gandharan art while others of indigenous local developments. Merit accrued to both the artist and the donor of an image, and so it was quite natural there should be such an exuberance of Buddha-images in the post-Christian eras. Both the Hīnayānists and the Mahāyānists started making images and temples and decorated the *stūpas* with countless images.

## *Jātakas and Avadānas*

In the *Mahāvastu* and the *Abhiniṣkramaṇasūtra* we have not only a biography of Buddha but also a number of stories dealing with Buddha's supposed previous existences as also other traditions. The underlying object of the stories of Buddha's previous births is to show that each event in this life was the result of a past deed of his. These stories served not only to establish the law of *karma* which Buddhism had borrowed from the pre-Buddhistic thoughts but also to convince the common-folk that any act of theirs would similarly be fruitful, and it may be that some of them might sow the seeds of merit like Siddhārtha Gautama and ultimately attain Buddhahood. In the latter case, they would be Bodhisattvas as was Siddhārtha Gautama in his previous lives. The *Lalitavistara* refers to the meritorious deeds performed by him in his previous existences[57] but does not give the stories in detail which were to be found partly in the Vinaya piṭaka of the Sarvāstivādins, and partly in the Avadāna collections. The biographies, and particularly the Jātakas, made a strong appeal to the mass, kindled their devotion and gave them an opportunity to express the same by depicting the stories indelibly on stone. These made them feel within their innermost heart that Buddhahood for them was not an impossibility as has so long been preached by the early Buddhists. The task, of course, was arduous and the path long covering several existences and entailing extreme self-sacrifices. This literature therefore gave a new and forceful impetus to the mass, and paved the way for the glorious days which Buddhism had for a long time in the early Christian eras. Observing the effect of the Jātaka stories on the mass, the Sarvāstivādins began to multiply them and produced large collections of these, calling them Avadānas. They incorporated in it stories dealing with the previous births not only of Buddha but also of his noted disciples. The puritanic Theravādins could not help following them, and started making a collection of stories without intermingling them with the biography of Buddha. They however supplied the events of the present life by way of introduction (*paccuppannavatthu*) and ended the stories by identifying the characters with Buddha and other persons. The object of all these collections was identical, viz., the edification of the mass and popularisation of the religion.

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[56] *Buddhist Remains in Andhra*, etc. by K. R. Subramanian, 1932, p. 15.

[57] *Lalitavistara* (R. L. Mitra). p. 192:—

पुरि तुम सुपुरुष ऋषिवरु यदभूर्द्विज तव उपगतु भव मम शरणम् ।
भणि ऋषि द्विजवर नररिपु उपने त्यजि स्वय स्वकि तनु न च द्विज त्यजसे ॥

Strangely enough all these *Jātakas* and *Avadānas* are non-Buddhist in character. This have nothing to do with the fundamental teachings of Buddhism—there is not a word about soul, component elements of a being, law of causation, *ātman*, *skandhas*, *paṭiccasamuppada* or *nirvāṇa*. These stories deal in a general way with moral virtues but not with the *śīlas*, as detailed in the Piṭakas. These speak highly of a retired life but do not discountenance the life of a householder. On the contrary, the stories are concerned mainly with the social life of the householders and not with the unsocial life of a recluse. These do not breathe a word about monks or their life in monasteries. If not for the use of the term 'Bodhisattva' in every story, the collections could not have been recognised as forming a part of the Buddhist literature. It is really a universal literature dealing with universal moral principles, and a large number of the stories belongs to the common heritage of the Indians of the

स्मर ऋषि उपगतु पुरि द्रुमनिचये
रुचि भणि तरुरुह कति इम गणये ।
सुविदित सुगणित यथ तहि क्रिशला
तथ तव अवितथ समगिर रचिता ॥

pre-Aśokan period. These stories teach more altruistic moral principles than negative ethical ideals (*veramaṇis*) as was the practice with the Buddhists. The stories well-known to the common folk of the then age and were found a convenient medium for propagating the Bodhisattva conception and along with it the greatness of the Teacher.

## *The Pāramitā-cult*

The Jātaka-stories, according to the late Buddhist traditions, had in view Bodhisattva's attainment of perfection[58] in six or ten virtues: viz., (i) liberality (*dāna*); (ii) righteousness (*śīla*), (iii) forbearance or endurance (*kṣānti*), (iv) mental strength (*vīrya*) (v) mental concentration (*dhyāna*) and (vi) realisation of the truth (*prajñā*). The number was latterly raised to ten by the addition of (i) skilfulness in expedients (*upāyakauśalya*), (ii) vow or resolution (*praṇidhāna*), (iii) attainment of certain powers (*bala*) and (iv) knowledge (*jñāna*).[59] The above list is to be found in Buddhist-Sanskrit works while the list in the Pāli texts is slightly different. It agrees with five of the above, viz., *dāna*, *sīla*, *kṣānti*, *viriya* and *paññā*. The remaining five are (i) renunciation (*nekkhamma*), (ii) truthfulness (*sacca*), (iii) resolution (*adhiṭṭhāna*), (iv) love (*mettā*) and (v) equanimity (*upekkhā*). Of these five, *adhiṭṭhāna* may be taken as a synonym of *praṇidhāna* of the supplementary list. The agreement of the two lists in five items indicates their comparative antiquity than the remaining five. It seems that the list was not a pre-meditated one. The stories were originally written just to illustrate that the episodes of Buddha's life were not untoward events but the outcome of the deeds of his previous existences. In course of time these stories were multiplied without any definite plan.

The earliest mention of the six *pāramitās* is found in the *Mahāvastu* (iii. p. 226), *Lalitavistara* (p. 340), and *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā* (p. 194) while that of ten in the *Mahāyāna Sūtrālaṅkāra*, *Daśabhūmikasūtra*, *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, and *Samādhirājasūtra*.[60] In the *Mahāvastu* again, mention of the six pāramitās is few and far between[61] while the word *pāramitā* has been used in the ordinary sense remaining three *pāramitās* are *kṣānti*, *vīrya* and *dhyāna*. These, it will be observed, are included in the subsidiary practices prescribed for the laity. The distinction between the *pāramitā*-practices which made a Bodhisattva and the practices prescribed for the laity is that the former practices had to be carried to the extreme that one can conceive of, while the latter was meant only as a general moral training. The doctrine of *pāramitā* illustrated by the Jātaka stories made a strong appeal to the common-folk, and became instrumental in propagating the religion among the mass. The success of the Mahāsaṅghikas and their offshoots in increasing their followers led other schools like the Sarvāstivādins and Dharmaguptas, and later the most orthodox of the schools the Theravādins to incorporate this new doctrine into their code, though it was not consistent with their teachings and ideals. The Sarvāstivādins, however, changed their outlook in the altered circumstances of the day, and produced an extensive literature in the shape of *Avadānas* to popularise this new cult.

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[58] *Pāramitā*, as suggested by Har Dayal should be derived from '*parama*' (highest, excellent, extreme). A Bodhisattva makes most extreme exertion or sacrifice for acquiring the virtues of gift, etc.

[59] Mr. Har Dayal rightly describes these four as supplementary *pāramitās*. See his *Bodhisattva Doctrine* etc. pp. 167, 168. See also his remarks re. five *pāramitas*.

[60] See Har Dayal, *op. cit.* p. 167.

[61] *Mahāvastu*, i p. 214; ii p. 266; iii, p. 226.

### *Bodhisattva-doctrine*

As has already been mentioned, the Mahāsaṅghikas were the first to usher in the conception of Bodhisattva, viz., that a being in any form of existence can have or develop the determination to attain *bodhi* (*bodhicittotpāda*) at sometime or other, however long and arduous the process may be, no matter even if it entails self-immolation, not once but several times in different existences. This conception is not quite clearly expressed in the *Mahāvastu*, where we find the first attempt to detail the career of a Bodhisattva, which is as follows: —

(i) *Prakṛti-caryā* (duties while a common man)
(ii) *Praṇidhāna-caryā*[80] (duties when taking the vow for attaining Buddhahood)
(iii) *Anuloma-caryā* (duties for spiritual progress to Buddhahood)
(iv) *Anivartana-caryā*[81] (duties for remaining firm in a particular stage of spiritual progress)

(i) *Prakṛti-caryā*[82] has no corresponding practice in the full-fledged Mahāyānism. A Bodhisattva is a common man (*puthujjana*) one of the fundamentals of the Mahāyānic code of discipline and spiritual progress.

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[80] After *bodhicittotpāda* and *praṇidhāna*, there must be also *vyākaraṇa* (prophesy) by a Buddha that such and such a being will become the Buddha.

[81] In the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, the four *caryās* are given differently thus, *Bodhipakṣya caryā*, *Abhijñācaryā*, *Pāramitā caryā*, *Sattvaparipāka-caryā*. Har Dayal has preferred this scheme of *Caryās*. See his *Bodhisattva Doctrine*, p. 76. See also Thomas, *History of Buddhist Thought*, p. 201; *AIIMB.*, pp. 286-289.

[82] *Mahāvastu*, i, pp. 46-47, 815 cf. *Cariyāpiṭaka Cy.*, p. 162.

The doctrine of *pāramitā* is not mentioned in the early Pali texts, and was very likely unknown to the early Buddhists.[76] The words '*pāramiṃ gato* or *pāramippatto*' (attained perfection) occur in the Nikāyas[77] but nowhere in the Pāli Tripiṭaka, barring the *Khuddakanikāya*, the *pāramitās* are mentioned. The number of *pāramis*, listed in the later Pāli texts, is ten and not six. Dhammapāla, in his commentary on the *Cariyāpiṭaka*, contributes on the ten *pāramis* a long dissertation,[78] in which he tells us that there were various ways of classifying the *pāramis*. There was also the system of enumerating the *pāramis* as six viz., *dāna-sīla-khanti-viriya-jhāna-paññā*, which is exactly the list as given in the Buddhist-Sanskrit texts. He writes that according to this enumeration, 'sīla' includes *nekkhama* (renunciation) as also *sacca* (truthfulness), the latter being only an aspect (*ekadeso*) of *sīla* ; *paññā* includes *ñāṇa* while *jhāna* and *paññā* together include *upekkhā*; *adhiṭṭhāna* he says, is associated with all the six *pāramis*. Though Dhammapāla was aware of this sixfold classification of *pāramis*, the Pāli texts usually mention ten and it seems that this list was made out by the Theravādins some time after the currency of the six *pāramitās* among the sects other than Theravāda. The supplementary four *pāramitās* of the later Buddhist Sanskrit texts and the Pali list of ten pāramitās were very likely the products of the same period.

This doctrine of *pāramitā* is evidently a later accretion to the fundamental principles of Buddhism, and this took place about the 1st century B.C. Of the several sects that appeared after the Second Council, the Mahāsaṅghikas and their offshoots, the Andhakas, were the first to deify Buddha and introduce the conception of Bodhisattvas. Their *Mahāvastu* is the earliest text to mention the doctrine. The object of this group of sects was not only the deification of Buddha but also to find a place for the laity within the religion, to create an interest among the householders in Buddhism. This doctrine of *pāramitā* was meant primarily for householders ; three of the *pāramitās* were already included in the duties prescribed for the laity, viz., *sīla*, *cāga* (=*dāna*) and *paññā*.[79] The

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(p. 262), *kṣānti* in the 3rd (p. 267), *vīrya* in the 4th (p. 270), *dhyāna* in the 5th (p. 27) and *prajñā* in the sixth (p. 275).

[76] See *AHMB.*, p. 12.

[77] *Suttanipāta*, vs. 1018, 1020; *Majjhima*, iii, p. 28.

[78] *Paramatthadīpanī*, p. 321.

[79] The other two are *saddhā* and *suta*. See above.

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*Gṛhī-Bodhisattvas*: In the early Mahāyāna texts, there is no express mention of householder-bodhisattvas.[103] In the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (p. 20), a Bodhisattva is said to have 800 disciples (*antevāsins*), but it is not known whether they were householders or recluses. In the *Daśabhūmikasūtra*,[104] it is stated that in the fourth *bhūmi*, the Bodhisattva takes ordination, which implies that he could remain a householder up to the fourth *bhūmi*, or the practice of *vīrya-pāramitā*. The *dhyāna* and *prajñā pāramitās* are to be accomplished after a bodhisattva becomes a monk. In the later Mahāyāna texts like *Ugradattaparipṛcchā* and *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, a special code has been framed for the conduct of the householder-bodhisattvas.[105] The *pāramitās*, it seems, were meant more for the householders than for the recluses. In actual practice, as is thing including the dearest things which are very difficult to part with. From this *bhūmi* onwards the Bodhisattva should be looked upon as the *Samyaksambuddha* as he has mastered the higher meditational practices, acquired full knowledge and delivers wise discourses.

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[99] Cf. Thomas, *History of Buddhist Thought*, p. 201: "The conception of the career in the *Mahāvastu* also shows more primitive features. It is described not as a career for any bodhisattva, but as having been the career of Śākyamuni and previous Buddhas."

[100] See *AHMB*.

[101] *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (ed. Wogihara), Tokyo.

[102] *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, p. 221.

[103] See *AHMB*., p. 270.

[104] Cf. *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (Wogihara), p. 138: —तत्र कतमद् बोधिसत्त्वस्य सर्वशीलम्। समासतो बोधिसत्त्वस्य गृहिपक्षगतं प्रव्रजितपक्षगतं च शीलं सर्वशीलमित्युच्यते।

[105] *Ibid*., pp. 295-301.

In the 9th and 10th *bhūmis* (*Yauvarājya* and *Abhiṣeka*)[92] therefore the Bodhisattva has nothing more to attain. Now he can take rebirth in whatever form he likes; he can also become a universal monarch. These two *bhūmis*, evidently, were reached by Gautama Buddha in his last two existences in the Tuṣita heaven and in the mortal world.[93] He decided to take rebirth as a human being for imparting instructions to men and gods, leading them to *arhathood* or other attainments. In the later Mahāyānic texts, the Bodhisattva in the eighth *bhūmi* becomes a Buddha *in esse*, a member of the Buddha family with Buddha gotra, and guarded henceforward by the gods and Vajrapāni.[94] In the 9th *bhūmi*, according to these texts, the Bodhisattva becomes a *dharma* preacher, a guide to other beings. In the 10th *bhūmi* he obtains the resplendent body and omniscience while in meditation;[95] he is now consecrated as the *Samyaksambuddha* and so this *bhūmi* is called *Abhiṣeka*.

(iv) *Anivartana-caryā* of the *Mahāvastu* is equated by Dr. Thomas[96] to the *Avaivartya-caryā* of the later Mahāyānic texts. In the *Mahāvastu*, however, it carries a slightly different sense. In this text some lapses are pointed out as causes for retrogression of a Bodhisattva from a higher to a lower *bhūmi*, and so a Bodhisattva is warned about these lapses in connection with every *bhūmi* that may be reached by him. The word *avaivartiya* is used as an adjective of the Bodhisattva[97] in every *bhūmi*, implying that the resolution of the Bodhisattva for attaining bodhi remains unflinching all along. Incidentally the text[98] mentions that the Bodhisattva while in one of the first seven *bhūmis* may, for any serious lapse, be reborn in one of the lower forms of existence. In the later Mahāyānic texts, the 8th *bhūmi* is called *Avaivartya* or *Acalā*, from which the Bodhisattva can never have any retrogression; he is destined to attain *bodhi* and become a *samyaksambuddha*.

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[92] *Mahāvastu*, i, pp. 105-6.

[93] Thomas, *History of Buddhist Thought*, p. 203.

[94] *AHMB.*, p. 282.

[95] *Ibid.*, p. 283.

[96] *History of Buddhist Thought*, p. 201.

[97] *Mahāvastu*, i, p. 82: यं पुनर्भो जिनपुत्र अवैवर्तियो बोधिसत्त्वो प्रथमं चित्तमुत्पादयति etc; p.83: ये इमे भो जिनपुत्र अवैवर्तिका बोधिसत्त्वा केवत्तकानि तै प्रथमायां भूमौ स्थितैः दुष्कराणि कृतानीति etc.

[98] *Mahāvastu*, i, pp. 102-4.

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*Gṛhī-Bodhisattvas*: In the early Mahāyāna texts, there is no express mention of householder-bodhisattvas.[103] In the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (p. 20), a Bodhisattva is said to have 800 disciples (*antevāsins*), but it is not known whether they were householders or recluses. In the *Daśabhūmikasūtra*,[104] it is stated that in the fourth *bhūmi*, the Bodhisattva takes ordination, which implies that he could remain a householder up to the fourth *bhūmi*, or the practice of *vīrya-pāramitā*. The *dhyāna* and *prajñā pāramitās* are to be accomplished after a bodhisattva becomes a monk. In the later Mahāyāna texts like *Ugradattaparipṛcchā* and *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, a special code has been framed for the conduct of the householder-bodhisattvas.[105] The *pāramitās*, it seems, were meant more for the householders than for the recluses. In actual practice, as is thing including the dearest things which are very difficult to part with. From this *bhūmi* onwards the Bodhisattva should be looked upon as the *Samyaksambuddha* as he has mastered the higher meditational practices, acquired full knowledge and delivers wise discourses.

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[99] Cf. Thomas, *History of Buddhist Thought*, p. 201: "The conception of the career in the *Mahāvastu* also shows more primitive features. It is described not as a career for any bodhisattva, but as having been the career of Sākyamuni and previous Buddhas."

[100] See *AHMB*.

[101] *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (ed. Wogihara), Tokyo.

[102] *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, p. 221.

[103] See *AHMB*., p. 270.

[104] Cf. *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (Wogihara), p. 138:—तत्र कतमद् बोधिसत्त्वस्य सर्वशीलम् । समासतो बोधिसत्त्वस्य गृहिपक्षगतं प्रव्रजितपक्षगतं च शीलं सर्वशीलमित्युच्यते ।

[105] *Ibid.*, pp. 295-301.

In the 9th and 10th *bhūmis* (*Yauvarājya* and *Abhiṣeka*)[92] therefore the Bodhisattva has nothing more to attain. Now he can take rebirth in whatever form he likes; he can also become a universal monarch. These two *bhūmis*, evidently, were reached by Gautama Buddha in his last two existences in the Tuṣita heaven and in the mortal world.[93] He decided to take rebirth as a human being for imparting instructions to men and gods, leading them to *arhathood* or other attainments. In the later Mahāyānic texts, the Bodhisattva in the eighth *bhūmi* becomes a Buddha *in esse*, a member of the Buddha family with Buddha gotra, and guarded henceforward by the gods and Vajrapāni.[94] In the 9th *bhūmi*, according to these texts, the Bodhisattva becomes a *dharma* preacher, a guide to other beings. In the 10th *bhūmi* he obtains the resplendent body and omniscience while in meditation;[95] he is now consecrated as the *Samyaksambuddha* and so this *bhūmi* is called *Abhiṣeka*.

(iv) *Anivartana-caryā* of the *Mahāvastu* is equated by Dr. Thomas[96] to the *Avaivartya-caryā* of the later Mahāyānic texts. In the *Mahāvastu*, however, it carries a slightly different sense. In this text some lapses are pointed out as causes for retrogression of a Bodhisattva from a higher to a lower *bhūmi*, and so a Bodhisattva is warned about these lapses in connection with every *bhūmi* that may be reached by him. The word *avaivartiya* is used as an adjective of the Bodhisattva[97] in every *bhūmi*, implying that the resolution of the Bodhisattva for attaining bodhi remains unflinching all along. Incidentally the text[98] mentions that the Bodhisattva while in one of the first seven *bhūmis* may, for any serious lapse, be reborn in one of the lower forms of existence. In the later Mahāyānic texts, the 8th *bhūmi* is called *Avaivartya* or *Acalā*, from which the Bodhisattva can never have any retrogression; he is destined to attain *bodhi* and become a *samyaksambuddha*.

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[92] *Mahāvastu*, i, pp. 105-6.

[93] Thomas, *History of Buddhist Thought*, p. 203.

[94] *AHMB.*, p. 282.

[95] *Ibid.*, p. 283.

[96] *History of Buddhist Thought*, p. 201.

[97] *Mahāvastu*, i, p. 82: यं पुनर्भो जिनपुत्र अवैवर्तियो बोधिसत्त्वो प्रथमं चित्तमुत्पादयति etc; p.83: ये इमे भो जिनपुत्र अवैवर्तिका बोधिसत्त्वा केवत्तकानि तै प्रथमायां भूमौ स्थितैः दुष्कराणि कृतानीति etc.

[98] *Mahāvastu*, i, pp. 102-4.

As the frontier duties on the British side were not abolished until June 1863, the Burmese Government might be allowed until June 1867 to come to a final decision regarding the abolition of frontier duties.[18] The Government of India instructed Col. Phayre to encourage the Burmese Government to try the expedient of a reduction of frontier duties.[19] They would have sufficient time up till 1867 to test the result of such a reduction; and if that result proved favourable, it would probably lead to the abolition of custom duties.[20]

### *Appointment of a European at the Customs House*

On 31st December 1865 Captain Sladen communicated to the Minister the Chief Commissioner's wishes regarding the appointment of an English official at the Manila Customs House to supervise the collections and to see that no more than the actual rate of duty, according to the approved tariff value, was taken under any pretence.[21] An interesting conversation took place :—

Mengyee (Minister) —Isn't it wrong to ask for such a concession ? It is humiliating to our Government.

Agent —Our intentions are good.

Mengyee —Yes, we know your intentions are good, but will it not be the same if we prevent further cause of complaint ?

Agent —Yes, if you can do so effectively.[22]

Col. Phayre was definitely of opinion that "we never shall be able to secure a real attention to the tariff rates and a strict conformity to the rate of duty agreed upon unless we place at the Burmese Customs House a European of integrity."[23] Col. Phayre however admitted that the pride of the Burmese Government would be touched at the idea of the Burmese officers being controlled or at least watched by an English official.[24] The Government of India thought that the proposed arrangement was likely to give offence to the Burmese Government and therefore instructed Col. Phayre that he should have a strong case for this reform before he pressed the matter further.[25]

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[18] Phayre to Govt. of India 25 Oct. 1865; Pol. A. Progs.; Dec. 1865; No. 25.

[19] Govt. of India to Phayre 4 Dec. 1865; Pol. A. Pogs.; Dec. 1865; No. 129.

[20] *Ibid.*

[21] Sladen's Diary 16 Dec. 1865 to 3 Jan. 1866; Pol. A. Progs.; March 1866; No. 149.

[22] *Ibid.*

[23] Phayre to Govt. of India 5 Feb. 1866; Pol. A. Progs.; Mar. 1866; No. 148.

[24] *Ibid.*

[25] Govt. of India to Phayre 20 March 1866; Pol. A. Progs.; March 1866; No. 150.

great reluctance to furnish tariff values in advance; his contention being that the lists referred to in Article V of the Treaty were intended to be lists for the year preceding and not the year to come.[7] The Commissioner admitted that the concession was not required by the Treaty, but held that without it the Burmese Customs officials at the frontier could and did charge at exorbitant rates.[8] By April 1865 this question was satisfactorily disposed of; the Minister furnished a list of the tariff values for exports and imports at the frontier.[9]

### *Reduction of Customs Duties*

In addition to the duty of 6% the Burmese Government imposed a duty of 1¼ to 2½% which was called a Royal Excise.[10] Col. Phayre remonstrated against this practice of indirectly increasing the customs duties beyond the limits duly sanctioned.[11] Dr. Williams told the Minister that it was rather unfair that while the British Government had sacrificed much revenue by giving up the Thyetmyo Customs, the Burmese Government had commenced the first year of the Treaty by an increase of duty.[12] He further added. "A gradual diminution with a view to giving up the duties altogether in a few years would have been more consistent with the friendship and with our conduct in the matter of customs."[13] Captain Sladen continued the efforts to induce the Burmese Government to give up the frontier duties levied in the Burmese territory.[14] The Minister pleaded that this reform would disorganise the Burmese finances.[15] Col. Phayre was of opinion that a special Convention should be made with the Burmese Government with reference to Article VIII of the Treaty.[16] The Convention should provide for (i) annual valuation lists of goods exported and imported being furnished by the Burmese Government, (ii) a positive engagement not to impose more than a duty of 5% on such valuation, (iii) the appointment of a British Agent at the Burmese Frontier Customs House to hear any complaints regarding overcharges of duty by the officials, so that he might report the matter to the Chief Commissioner's Agent at Mandalay, who would bring the matter to the notice of the Minister.[17]

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[7] William's Diary 26 Sep. to 20 Nov. 1864; Pol. A. Progs.; May 1865; No. 150.

[8] Phayre to Govt. of India 6 Dec. 1864; Pol. A. Progs; May 1865; No. 149.

[9] Phayre to Govt. of India 7 Feb. 1865; Pol. A. Progs; May 1865; No. 153.

[10] Phayre to Govt. of India 24 Sep. 1864; Pol. A. Progs.; May 1865; No. 148.

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] William's Diary 26 Sept. to 20 Nov. 1864; Pol. A Progs.; May 1865; No. 150

[13] *Ibid.*

[14] Phayre to Govt. of India 25 Oct. 1865; Pol. A. Progs.: Dec. 1865; No. 25.

[15] Phayre to Govt. of India 21 Aug. 1865; Pol. A. Progs.: Sep. 1865; No. 22.

[16] Phayre to Govt. of India 25 Oct. 1865; Pol. A. Progs.: Dec. 1865; No. 25.

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monopolies with some exceptions (i.e. earth-oil, timber and precious stones).[57] The Government of India was quite pleased at this turn of affairs in its favour[58] and Col. Fytche was quite hopeful of arriving at a satisfactory agreement with the Burmese Government since the problem of monopolies—the main obstacle to the making of the Treaty—had been successfully tackled.[59] The king of Burma wrote to Lord Lawrence that he was prepared to enter into a new Treaty with the British Government.[60] Col. Fytche arrived at Mandalay on 7th October 1867 and succeeded in negotiating the Treaty which was signed on 26th November 1867.[61] The main features of this Treaty were as follows :—[62]

By Article I the reduction of frontier duties to a uniform rate of 5% ad valorem for 10 years, and the abolition of royal monopolies, except in the case of earth-oil, timber and precious stones, were definitely secured. Care was taken to provide for the non-levying of any indirect dues or demands beyond the 5% duty.

Article II authorized the Burmese Government, after 10 years, to decrease to 3% or raise to 10% ad valorem customs duties.

Article III stipulated that the British Government would not levy frontier duties so long as the Burmese Government did not levy more than 5%.

Article IV provided for the interchange of the price lists showing the market value of all goods subject to Burmese customs duty.

Article V authorized the British Government of India to appoint a Resident or Political Agent in Burmese territory, with full and final jurisdiction in all civil suits arising between registered British subjects at the capital. Civil cases between Burmese subjects and British registered subjects were to be heard and finally decided by a mixed court composed of the British Political Agent and a suitable Burmese officer of high rank. The Burmese Government was also given the privilege of appointing a Resident or Political Agent in British territory.

Articles VI and VII authorized the Government of India as well as the Burmese Government to appoint officials to reside at places where customs duties were levied to see that nothing beyond the regulated duties were taken from traders.

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[57] Fytche to Govt. of India 2 May 1867; Pol. A. Progs.; May 1867; No. 112.

[58] Govt. of India to Fytche 16 May 1867; Pol. A. Progs.; May 1867; No. 113

[59] Fytche to Govt. of India 20 May 1867; Pol. A. Progs.; June 1867; No. 86.

[60] Fytche to Govt. of India 13 June 3867; Pol. A. Progs.; July 1867; No. 88.

[61] Fytche to Govt. of India 12 Oct. 1867; Pol. A. Progs.; Feb. 1868; No. 39 and Fytche to Govt. of India 26 Oct. 1867; Pol. A. Progs.; Feb. 1868; No. 45.

[62] Fytche to Govt. of India 26 Oct. 1867; Pol. A. Progs.; Feb 1868; No. 45

at Rangoon, that is, that if a Burmese Agent was appointed at Rangoon, he should have jurisdiction in cases where Burmese subjects were concerned.[47] Col. Phayre did not consent to the first proposal as such an arrangement would have made the process of collecting debts and settling accounts by merchants tedious and uncertain.[48] He also did not agree to the second proposal though the Minister explained that it was only asked for as a point of honour, so that it might not be said that the Burmese Government had yielded to the pressure of the British Government.[49] Finally the king agreed to issue a decree empowering the British Agent to try judicial cases, though he objected to concede this point by a formal Treaty.[50] The negotiations broke down really on the important point of monopolies.[51] Neither the king nor the Minister was prepared to sacrifice a large revenue by giving up the right of monopolies.[52] But Col. Phayre held equally strong views, "I have no hesitation in saying that as long as the king of Burmah allows certain persons to have the right of purchasing produce at fixed rates from the producers as cotton, raw sugar, cutch and so on, that no satisfactory trade can exist between the two countries. Any agreement as to rates of duty is, as far as monopolized articles are concerned, of comparatively little importance. What is required is entire freedom for the seller and buyer.'[53] Col. Phayre's Mission to Mandalay ended in failure. Col. Phayre attached very great importance to the removal of monopolies, which he regarded as the chief obstacle to the free trade between the two countries. while the king was equally adamant in retaining this important source of income.

### *Col. Fytche's Commercial Treaty of 1867*

Lord Lawrence intimated to the king of Burma that the export dutie would be reimposed.[54] The Secretary of State for India however did not sanction the measure.[55] But the threat of the re-imposition of export duties had the effect of inducing the Burmese Government to concede the demands of the British Government.[56] And the new Chief Commissioner, Col. Fytche was able to announce to the Government of India the happy news that on 16th April 1867 the king of Burma published a Royal Proclamation reducing the frontier duties, both export and import to 5% ad valorem and abolishing monopolies with some exceptions (i.e. earth-oil, timber and precious stones).[57] The Government of India was quite pleased at this turn of affairs in its favour[58] and Col. Fytche was quite hopeful of arriving at a satisfactory agreement with the Burmese Government since the problem of monopolies—the main obstacle to the making of the Treaty—had been successfully tackled.[59] The king of Burma wrote to Lord Lawrence that he was prepared to enter into a new Treaty with the British Government.[60] Col. Fytche arrived at Mandalay on 7th October 1867 and succeeded in negotiating the Treaty which was signed on 26th November 1867.[61] The main features of this Treaty were as follows :—[62]

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[48] *Ibid.* [49] *Ibid.* [50] *Ibid.*

[51] *Ibid.* [52] *Ibid.* [53] *Ibid.*

[54] Khureeta to the King of Burmah 31 Jan. 1867; Pol. A. Progs.; Jan. 1867; No. 200.

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south-west city of Esmok, which sent forth its trading caravans over the country of Laos, and over the Shan States of both Burma and Siam, was only about 40 miles distant from the Shan city of Kian Hung which was situated on the right bank of the Upper Kamboja river.[67]

In 1861 therefore the Secretary of State for India invited the opinion of the Government of India on this subject.[68] Col. Phayre was opposed to the project as great engineering difficulties would have to be overcome.[69]

The project was however not left neglected for long. In 1864 Col. Phayre reported to the Government of India that the king of Burma had made a grant in favour of Messrs Halliday Fox and Co. and Dr. Marfels, a German physician, residing at Mandalay, for the construction of a railway and telegraph line from the city of Mandalay to the frontier of China.[70] The Government of India were not indifferent to the project of facilitating commercial relations with the southern provinces of China but thought that the political consequences of the construction of the proposed railway would not be good.[71] In the event of the enterprise meeting with the support of British capital, there must be an influx of European British subjects into Burma.[72] "It is needless to observe that such functionaries (civil engineers, railway mechanics, etc.) would, as a rule, be ignorant of the language and customs of the people among whom they would be suddenly thrown, and little disposed by previous training to conform to the ways and system of an arbitrary and jealous native Government such as the Burmese. The chances of serious misunderstanding and of frequent collision amount, under such circumstances, to a certainty; and as references to the British authorities would ensue, and could not very well be ignored, the existing amicable relations with the Burman court would run the risk of being speedily disturbed by communications of an embarrasing and irritating character."[73] Lord Lawrence, therefore, did not sanction the project, chiefly on the ground that "the permanence of our specific relations with the Burman Court cannot fail to be endangered by the execution of this railway project."[74]

Sir Charles Trevelyan differed from the policy of Sir John Lawrence and wrote a Minute of dissent.[75] He wrote—"I am not afraid of any

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[67] Memorial of Chamber of Commerce, Halifax to Derby, 30 Aug. 1860; Parl. Papers 1867 (28).

[68] Phayre to Government of India 11 Sep. 1867 Parl. Papers 1868 (367).

[69] *Ibid.*

[70] Political Despatch to Secretary of State: No. 51; 13 Aug. 1864.

[71] *Ibid.*

[72] *Ibid.*

[73] *Ibid.*

[74] *Ibid.*

[75] Trevelyan's Minute 9 Aug. 1864. p. 6. Parl. Papers 1867 (233).

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at Rangoon, that is, that if a Burmese Agent was appointed at Rangoon, he should have jurisdiction in cases where Burmese subjects were concerned.[47] Col. Phayre did not consent to the first proposal as such an arrangement would have made the process of collecting debts and settling accounts by merchants tedious and uncertain.[48] He also did not agree to the second proposal though the Minister explained that it was only asked for as a point of honour, so that it might not be said that the Burmese Government had yielded to the pressure of the British Government.[49] Finally the king agreed to issue a decree empowering the British Agent to try judicial cases, though he objected to concede this point by a formal Treaty.[50] The negotiations broke down really on the important point of monopolies.[51] Neither the king nor the Minister was prepared to sacrifice a large revenue by giving up the right of monopolies.[52] But Col. Phayre held equally strong views, "I have no hesitation in saying that as long as the king of Burmah allows certain persons to have the right of purchasing produce at fixed rates from the producers as cotton, raw sugar, cutch and so on, that no satisfactory trade can exist between the two countries. Any agreement as to rates of duty is, as far as monopolized articles are concerned, of comparatively little importance. What is required is entire freedom for the seller and buyer."[53] Col. Phayre's Mission to Mandalay ended in failure. Col. Phayre attached very great importance to the removal of monopolies, which he regarded as the chief obstacle to the free trade between the two countries. while the king was equally adamant in retaining this important source of income.

### *Col. Fytche's Commercial Treaty of 1867*

Lord Lawrence intimated to the king of Burma that the export dutie would be reimposed.[54] The Secretary of State for India however did not sanction the measure.[55] But the threat of the re-imposition of export duties had the effect of inducing the Burmese Government to concede the demands of the British Government.[56] And the new Chief Commissioner, Col. Fytche was able to announce to the Government of India the happy news that on 16th April 1867 the king of Burma published a Royal Proclamation reducing the frontier duties, both export and import to 5% ad valorem and abolishing south-west city of Esmok, which sent forth its trading caravans over the country of Laos, and over the Shan States of both Burma and Siam, was only about 40 miles distant from the Shan city of Kian Hung which was situated on the right bank of the Upper Kamboja river.[67]

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[47] *Ibid.* and Draft of a Treaty; Pol. A. Progs.; Jan. 1867; No. 92.

[48] *Ibid.*

[49] *Ibid.*

[50] *Ibid.*

[51] *Ibid.*

[52] *Ibid.*

[53] *Ibid.*

[54] Khureeta to the King of Burmah 31 Jan. 1867: Pol. A. Progs.; Jan. 1867; No. 200.

[55] Govt. of India to Phayre 23 Apl. 1867; Pol. A. Progs.; 1867; No. 136.

[56] Sladen's Diary 4 and 23 March 1867; Pol. A. Progs.; May 1867; No. 97.

In 1861 therefore the Secretary of State for India invited the opinion of the Government of India on this subject.[68] Col. Phayre was opposed to the project as great engineering difficulties would have to be overcome.[69]

The project was however not left neglected for long. In 1864 Col. Phayre reported to the Government of India that the king of Burma had made a grant in favour of Messrs Halliday Fox and Co. and Dr. Marfels, a German physician, residing at Mandalay, for the construction of a railway and telegraph line from the city of Mandalay to the frontier of China.[70] The Government of India were not indifferent to the project of facilitating commercial relations with the southern provinces of China but thought that the political consequences of the construction of the proposed railway would not be good.[71] In the event of the enterprise meeting with the support of British capital, there must be an influx of European British subjects into Burma.[72] "It is needless to observe that such functionaries (civil engineers, railway mechanics, etc.) would, as a rule, be ignorant of the language and customs of the people among whom they would be suddenly thrown, and little disposed by previous training to conform to the ways and system of an arbitrary and jealous native Government such as the Burmese. The chances of serious misunderstanding and of frequent collision amount, under such circumstances, to a certainty; and as references to the British authorities would ensue, and could not very well be ignored. the existing amicable relations with the Burman court would run the risk of being speedily disturbed by communications of an embarrasing and irritating character."[73] Lord Lawrence, therefore, did not sanction the project, chiefly on the ground that "the permanence of our specific relations with the Burman Court cannot fail to be endangered by the execution of this railway project."[74]

Sir Charles Trevelyan differed from the policy of Sir John Lawrence and wrote a Minute of dissent.[75] He wrote—"*I* am not afraid of any consequences to be apprehended from the construction of a railway to Bhamo. The military power and spirit of the Burmese have been so broken by the two wars in which they have been worsted by us, and we have acquired such a knowledge of our influence in their country, that the relative position of the two Governments is now totally altered from what it was even before the last war."[76] He held that the project should not be given up simply because it was likely to endanger the good relations with the Burmese court.[77] Sir Charles Wood approved of the decision of Lord Lawrence.[78] He was of opinion that, "considering the political embarrasments which would inevitably arise from this scheme, the collisions likely to occur between the railway officials and the authorities of the Burmese Government, and the extreme difficulty of protecting the former when constructing the line, and afterwards, when it is completed, the countenance and encouragement of the British Government should not be accorded to the plan."[79]

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[67] Memorial of Chamber of Commerce. Halifax to Derby, 30 Aug. 1860; Parl. Papers 1867 (28).

[68] Phayre to Government of India 11 Sep. 1867 Parl. Papers 1868 (367).

[69] *Ibid.*

[70] Political Despatch to Secretary of State: No. 51; 13 Aug. 1864.

[71] *Ibid.*

[72] *Ibid.*

[73] *Ibid.*

[74] *Ibid.*

[75] Trevelyan's Minute 9 Aug. 1864. p. 6. Parl. Papers 1867 (233).

Captain Sprye's project was however soon afterwards taken up for discussion by Captain J. M. Williams, Superintendent of Works, British Burma, who wrote a Memorandum dated 21st January 1865.[80] The Memorandum referred to three routes, two being partly by the Irrawaddy river, and one direct from Rangoon, entirely by land.[81] It was the latter which he advocated.[82] Col. Phayre expressed his opinion in favour of the scheme of Captain Williams with some modification.[83] He recommended that this route should be surveyed.[84] The mercantile community in British Burma were also most anxious to have the communication established.[85] "It is naturally felt that it would raise Rangoon in a few years to a level with Calcutta or Bombay."[86] The Government of India however were opposed to the scheme for financial reasons—"We do not doubt that a road or railway through Burmah might be constructed, but we feel sure that the cost would prove very large, and we consider that under no circumstances ought such a charge to be debited against the revenues of India: at the same time we are not aware of any other source from which the charge could be met."[87] But Lord Cranborne did not agree with this opinion and held that in the commercial interests of England and British Burma, the route should be surveyed.[88]

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[76] Trevelyan's Minute 9 Aug. 1864, p. 6, Parl. Papers 1867 (233).

[77] *Ibid.*

[78] Wood's Political Despatch: No. 65; 7 Nov. 1864.

[79] *Ibid.*

[80] Williams to Phayre 8 Dec. 1866 p. 4. Parl. Papers 1867 (421).

[81] *Ibid.*

[82] *Ibid.*

[83] Phayre to Government of India 22 Oct. 1866 p. 12 Parl. Papers 1867 (233)

[84] *Ibid.*

[85] *Ibid.*

[86] *Ibid.*

[87] Political Despatch to Secretary of State: No. 197; 8 Dec. 1866.

The Government of India appointed Captain J. M. Williams and Captain C. H. Luard to survey that portion of the projected line which lay between Rangoon and the Burmese frontier.[89] The survey revealed that the Beeling road was better than the Shoe Gyeen route.[90] The statistics of population and cultivated area given in the Report led Captains Williams and Luard to the conclusion that to confine the construction of a railway or a tramway to British territory in the direction travelled by them, without extending it to foreign territory, would be useless.[91] Col. Fytche strongly recommended that the survey should be continued to the confines of China.[91] The Government of India adhered to their former view of not favouring the railway project, namely for two reasons—(i) the excessive cost of the construction of the railway, (ii) the danger of the prosecution of the project leading to a collision with Burma.[93] Sir Stafford Northcote agreed with the opinion of the Government of India and ordered that further survey operations should be stopped.[94] Sir Stafford Northcote gave the following reasons :—"Looking to the pressing and urgent demands which are now made upon the revenues of India for the development of the resources of the country; and to the inexpediency of straining Indian credit by any excessive extension of the system of guarantees, I am decidedly of opinion that it would at present be out of the question to render pecuniary aid for the promotion of this enterprise, however favourably it might be reported on; while I see no reason to suppose that the public, which is unwilling to undertake the construction of railways in Hindoostan itself without the security of a Government guarantee, would be disposed to do so in Burmah. On the other hand you express some anxiety lest the prosecution of the enterprise should lead to a collision with Burmah. I attach great weight to your opinion on this point."[95] Thus the railway project of linking Rangoon with Western China came to an abrupt end.

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88 Cranborne's Political Despatch; No. 20; 7 Feb. 1867.

89 P.W.D. Despatch to Secretary of State; No. 133; 15 Aug. 1867; p. 3 Parl. Papers 1867 (28-1).

90 China Route Survey Report by Williams and Luard p. 15 Parl. Papers 1867 (28-11).

91 P.W.D. Despatch to Secretary of State: No. 133: 15 Aug. 1867: *op. cit.*

92 Fytche to Govt. of India 25 June 1867: p. 5 Parl Papers 1867 (28-1).

93 P.W.D. Despatch to Secretary of State; No. 133: 15 Aug. 1867: *op. cit.*

94 Public Works Despatch from Lord Northcorte; No. 111; 31 Oct. 1867 p. 47 Parl. Papers 1867 (28-1).

95 Northcote's Despatch; No. 111; 31st Oct. 1867.

Col. Fytche proposed (in June 1867) that an expedition should be sent to explore the caravan route between Ava and the western frontier of China *via* Bhamo.[96] Col. Fytche made the following remarks about the revival of the trade by the Bhamo route—"This trade, although it has not almost ceased, amounted, as last as the year 1855, to nearly half a million of pounds sterling, and is fully described at pages 147, 148 and 149 of Yule's *Embassy to Ava.* This route has the unusual advantage of having been used for centuries as a line of traffic; and that it should have retained its vitality so long, among all the disturbing influences of the flow and ebb of the Chinese and Burmese power, is a conclusive proof of the urgent necessity for the interchange of commodities between the respective countries; and is also a strong indication that somehow or other the line possesses some practical advantages over other through routes."[97] The Government of India negatived Col. Fytche's proposal.[98] On 26th August 1867 Col. Fytche again addressed the Government of India on the same subject and gave one significant reason for reopening the Bhamo trade route viz. that the French authorities at Saigon had already deputed a mission along the course of the Cambodia.[99] The mission had succeeded in reaching a point so far to the north as to intersect the British line of communication with Southern Yunan.[100] This information alarmed the Government of India and they sanctioned Col. Fytche's proposal at once.[101] The king of Burma promised every kind of help to the exploring expedition.[102] The king was anxious that Captain Sladen should lead the expedition.[103] The Government of India agreed to this proposal.[104] The expedition was a great success and the British Government gained much useful information;[105] an Assistant Political Agent was stationed at Bhamo.[106]

In July 1868 Col. Fytche recommended that a survey be undertaken of the countries between Toungoo and Kiang Hung, with a

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[96] Fytche to Govt. of India 21 June 1867 p. 48 Parl. Papers 1867 (28-1).

[97] *Ibid.*

[98] Govt. of India to Fytche 18 July 1867 p. 50 Parl. Papers 1867 (28-1).

[99] *Ibid.*

[100] *Ibid.*

[101] Govt. of India to Fytche 12 Sep. 1867 p. 55 Parl. Papers 1867 (28-1).

[102] Fytche to Govt. of India 11 Nov. 1867; Pol. A. Progs; Feb. 1868; No. 54.

[103] *Ibid.*

[104] Govt. of India to Fytche 12 Sep. 1867 p. 55 Parl. Papers 1867 (28-1).

[105] Official narrative of the expedition to explore the trade routes to China *via* Bhamo under the guidance of Major Sladen.

[106] Fytche to Government of India 30 June 1869; Official narrative of the expedition *op. cit.*

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view to the eventual construction of a telegraph line to Western China.[107] His recommendation was primarily based on imperial interests. He observed, "seeing that Russia was in direct communication with Pekin and the Chinese coast; that England's nearest point of telegraphic communication with China is Calcutta, Rangoon or Ceylon; that it would take the fastest steamer a fortnight at least to communicate from either of those places intelligence of war to Chinese ports, and to the Admiral Commanding in Chinese waters; and that, in that time, incalculable damage might be done both to our ships and trade; a direct telegraphic communication with the Chinese ports from Rangoon might be of the greatest possible value."[108] The Government of India rejected the scheme of Col. Fytche—"In His Excellency's opinion it would be quite impossible to maintain a line of telegraph, of such a length, through a foreign country, possessing no regular government to which we could appeal and where there can be no order or real security."[109] The Duke of Argyll however sanctioned the proposal of Col. Fytche[110] and thus the important step was taken of linking Rangoon with China by telegraphic communication.

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107 Political Despatch to Secretary of State; No. 166; 3 Oct. 1868.
108 Fytche to Govt. of India 18 July 1868; Parl. Papers 1869 (251) p. 94.
109 Government of India to Fytche 8 Sep. 1868; Parl Papers 1869 (251) p. 97.
110 Argyll's Political Despatch; No. 97; 29 Apl. 1869.

# Side-Lights on the History of Medieval Mewar*

Our information about the different aspects of the history of medieval Mewar is admittedly unsatisfactory. Only a few scholars have so far taken active interest in this neglected branch of Indian history, and their attention has been concentrated upon political history. Fortunately some inscription printed in the *Collection of Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions* (published by the Bhavanagar Archaeological Department) contain interesting information relating to administration, social condition and religion in medieval Mewar.

We shall begin with an inscription of Allata (V.S. 1010, A.D. 953) found in the temple of Sarnesvar at Udaipur. It is probable that it was brought to this temple at a later period from some other temple of which no signs are now to be found in the neighbourhood. It describes Allata as '*Medinipati*' (Lord of the world)—certainly an inappropriate title for the ruler of a petty State. The following dignitaries are mentioned: *Sandhivigrahika* (Minister of Peace and War), *Amātya* (Minister) *Akṣapaṭala* (Judge ?), *Vandipati* (Superintendent of Gaols), *Goṣṭika* (Guardian ? Custodian ?), *Bhiṣagādhirāja* (Court Physician ?), *Kāyastha* (Scribe). As regards weight and measures we get two terms: *Tulā* (a measure of weight of gold and silver, about 145 ounces Troy); *Āḍhaka* (a measure of grain, nearly 7 lbs. 11 ozs. avoirdupois). The inscription makes provision for the maintenance of a temple dedicated to Murārī (the temple in which it is now found is dedicated to Śiva). This shows that Vaiṣṇavism was not unknown in Mewar even in the tenth century. It is interesting to note that the temple was to be maintained by contributions from different classes of people: "(The owner of) an elephant should give one Dramma; (the owner of) a horse two pieces of silver; (the owner of) a horned animal one-fortieth of a Dramma; from the shop of a seller of worn-out clothes and ornament (?) one *Tulā* and one *Āḍhaka*. On the eleventh of the bright fortnight, a small pail (of milk) from the shop of confectioners; one bag from the gamblers, and a pala-ful (about 2½ tolas) from every oil mill, and at the end of a month, a silver-piece from the sellers of dressed-food (?). The sellers of flowers to present a four-stringed garland every day."

A mutilated inscription of Naravāhana (V.S. 1028, A.D. 971) found in the temple of Natha near Udaipur is interesting from the standpoint of religious history. It refers to the worship of Ekaliṅga[1] and invokes the blessing of Śaṅkara. The guru of the composer of the inscription is described as one "who was the medicine for the disease of the *Syādvād* (Jainism), who always pulled down the theories of free-thinking and who was the thunderbolt to the mountains of pride of the Sugatas (Buddhists)." This statement obviously implies hostility to Jainism[2] and Buddhism. It may be added that in this inscription Bappā is described as 'Kiṣitipati' (Lord of the world).

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* This paper was intended for the Indian History Congrees, Annamalainagar Session, 1945. Its purpose is to show how a careful study of epigraphic evidence may throw light on administrative economic and cultural history of medieval Rajputana.

A veiled reference to Śaivism is found in a mutilated inscription discovered in the temple of Hastamata (date unknown) at Udaipur. Here Sucivarman is said to have 'burnt his foes like Śiva.'

An inscription found at Chitor (V.S. 1331, A.D. 1274) begins with homage to Śiva and Gaṇapati. Bhartṛbhaṭa is described as a devotee of Śiva and Naravāhana's heart is said to have been 'much pleased with (his) friendship with the lord of Gaurī' (Śiva). Although Śaivism thus occupies a very prominent place in this inscription, there is an indirect reference to Vaiṣṇavism also. Guhila, we are told, 'was as glorious as Viṣṇu'.

An inscription (V.S. 1342, A.D. 1285) found at Acaleśvara on Mount Abu begins with salutations to Śiva, Gaṇeśa and Hanumān. The reference to Hanumān is very interesting, for it has no parallel in any other inscription found in Mewar. Bhoja is said to have 'worshipped the Lord of Lakṣmī' (Viṣṇu) and Samara Siṃha is compared to the Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu "(who rescued...the submerged land of Gurjara from the ocean-like Turuşkas)". These references to Śiva, Gaņeśa, Hanumān and Vişņu in the same inscription show that there was no sectarian animosity in Mewar towards the close of the 13th century.

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[1] Siva is the tutelary divinity of the Guhilots; hence Saivism may be regarded as the original religion of Mewar. The temple of Ekaliṅga, situated in a defile about six miles north of Udaipur, is the most important shrine of the Saivas in Mewar. The Ranas are the Dewans, or vicegerents, of Siva. When they visit the temple they supersede the high priest in his duties and perform the necessary ceremonies. This peculiar custom probably owes its origin to the fact that the ancestors of the Ranas were Brahmins. (See A. C. Banerjee, *Rajput Studies*, "Early History of the Guhilots"). In Tod's days the shrine was endowed with 24 large villages from the *Khalsa*, besides plots of land from the chiefs.

[2] Tod says that Mewar always afforded refuge to the Jains and some of the Ranas gave them special privileges. (*Annals of Mewar*, Chapter XIX). In spite of their numerical weakness the Jains occupied a very important place in the commercial and political life of Rajputana in Tod's days. He says, "The officers of the state and revenue are chiefly of the Jain laity, as are the majority of the bankers, from Lahore to the ocean. The chief magistrate and assessors of justice, in Oodipur and most of the towns of Rajasthan, are of this sect; and as their voluntary duties are confined to civil cases, they are as competent in these as they are the reverse in criminal cases, from their tenets forbidding the shedding of blood."

An inscription (V.S. 1485, A.D. 1429) found in the temple of Ekaliṅga near Udaipur begins with salutations to Gaṇapati, Girijā and Acyuta, and 'Bhagavatī Bhavānī' is described as the source of good fortune. These references to the worship of Śakti are specially interesting because no earlier epigraphic reference to the consort of Śiva seems to have been discovered so far. The same inscription tells us that Mokala built a temple of Dvārakādhīśa (Kŗşņa). An officer called 'Senānī, (Commander of the Forces) is mentioned in this inscription.

An inscription (V.S. 1494, A.D. 1438) found at Nagada refers to the construction of a Jain temple at that place. A Jain idol was placed within the temple.

An inscription (V.S. 1496, A.D. 1440) found at Ranpur in Marwar describes Rana Kumbha as 'a *garuda* in destroying the hoards of the snake-like Mleccha kings. His interest in Vaşņavism is clear from the wellknown commentary on Jayadeva's *Gīta-Govindam*, called *Rasika-priyā*, composed by him. But religion did not colour his political views. This inscription tells us that his favourite was 'Saṁghapati' (leader of a company of pilgrims) Dharaṇaka, (the most excellent follower of Jaina), who had repaired and constructed Jain temples. We are told that this pious Jain made pilgrimages 'with the *farman* of the illustrious Ahammada, the Sultan'. There is no doubt that this 'illustrious Sultan' is to be identified with Sultan Ahmad Shah of Gujarat (1411-1441 A.D.). This reference to his religious toleration is specially interesting in view of Vincent Smith's statement that he was 'zealous in fighting the infidels and destroying their temples'.[3]

An inscription (V.S. 1545, A.D. 1489) found near Udaipur refers to Gaṇeśa, Śiva, Śaṅkara, Maheśvara, Acyuta, Dhurjaṭi, wife of Paśupati, Pārvatī, Umā and lord of Lakşmī. The frequent mention of Śiva (under various names) undoubtedly shows that Śaivism was the most prominent religion in Mewar even in the days of Rana Kumbha. In this inscription Vaişņavism is less prominent than the worship of Śakti (under various names). In connection with Vaişņavism, it may be noted that in this inscription Rana Lakşa Siṃha is said to have freed the holy *tīrtha* Gayā "where the cruel Śaka (kings) had made Kathās. Purāṇas, and the Smriti doctrines useless".

An inscription (V.S. 1587, A.D. 1531-32) found on the Satruñjaya Hills in Kathiawad tells us that in the reign of Rana Ratna Siṃha one Karma Siṃha, who was 'the chief and wise among all the merchants'.

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[3] *Oxford History of India*, p. 268.

'bore the great burden of the administration of State'. Whether he was a regular office-bearer or merely a confidential adviser of the Rana, we do not know. He repaired the temple of Ādiśvara lying within the kingdom of Gujarat during the reign of Bahadur Shah. This shows that Bahadur Shah continued the liberal tradition of Ahmad Shah.

An inscription (V.S. 1654, A.D. 1598) found at Sadadi in Marwar refers to the construction of a Jain temple in Rana Amar Siṃha's reign. It mentions a case of 11 wives burning themselves on the funeral pyre of their husband. This is probably the earliest epigraphic refrenece to Sati in Mewar. The last known case of Sati in Mewar occurred in 1861, when a concubine of Rana Sarup Singh was persuaded to follow the ancient custom.[4]

Two inscriptions of Rana Raj Siṃha's reign (V.S. 1732, A.D. 1676), which were really copied down from a book called *Rājapraśasti* composed by a Pandit named Rinachoda, begin with salutations to Gaṇeśa and Kṛṣṇa. It is said that at the time of the desolation of Mathurā by Aurangzib, Raj Singh brought to Mewar the sacred image of Kṛṣṇa, which had been worshipped in that city for centuries, and placed it at Nāthdwāra, 22 miles north-east of Udaipur. Tod says that the endowments for Kṛṣṇa far exceeded in value those assigned to Ekaliṅga.

ANIL CHANDRA BANERJEE

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[4] Erskine, *Rajputana Gazetteer*, vol. IIA, pp. 26-27.

# The king's executive administration in the Dharmasūtras

The functions of the King in the *Dharmasūtras*,* as in the older Vedic literature, may be broadly classified under three heads, namely, executive, judicial and military. But unlike the meagre and vague references in the Vedic Saṁhitās and the Brāhmaṇas, the *Dharmasūtras* give us full and concrete accounts of these functions. What is more, the *Dharmasūtras* introduce us to an organised administration such as is only vaguely hinted at in the older works.

Beginning with some general observations, we may state that the *Dharmasūtras* like the later Saṁhitās and the Brāhmaṇas implicitly accept the doctrine of prevalence of the King's Peace and the King's Justice throughout the Kingdom. We have, however, a few passages preserving a reminiscence of the primitive institutions of blood-feud and private revenge. We refer to B. I.10.19. I f. and Āp. I.9.24, I f, prescribing an identical scale of wergelds for slaying a Kṣatriya, a Vaiśya, and a Śūdra. This consists of payments of one thousand, one hundred, and ten cows respectively along with a bull in each case. B. intends the cows and the bull to be given to the King for removal of enmity (*vairaniryātanārtham*). On the other hand Āp., while declaring that the cows are to be given for removal of enmity (*vairayātanārtham*) and the extra bull for penance (*prāyaścittārthaḥ*), is silent about the recipients of these animals. Whatever that may be, the significant epithet about the removal of enmity, which occurs in both texts, may be taken to be a relic of the primitive right of revenge belonging to the relations of the murdered man. Nevertheless the payment of the wergelds to the King in the former text is a clear index of the completeness with which this primitive right was merged in the paramount executive and judicial authority of the State.

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**ABBREVIATIONS.*

G. = Gautama
Vas. = Vasiṣṭha
Āp. = Āpastamba
B. = Baudhāyana
Viṣ. = Viṣṇu. Reputed author of *Viṣṇusmṛti*
Har. = Haradatta, commentator on *Gautama-Dharmasūtra*
Har. = Maskari, commentator on *Gautama-Dharmasūtra*
Mas. = Haradatta, commentator on *Āpastamba-Dharmasūtra*
S.B.E = Sacred Books of the East Series
H.P.L. = A History of Hindu Public Life, Part I. By U. N. Ghoshal,

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We may distinguish the King's executive functions, as described in the *Dharmasūtras*, under the following heads :—

### I. *Protection of person and property*

The *Dharmasūtras* repeatedly declare protection to be the most important function of the king. According to G. X. 7 the king's additional duty (*dharma*) over and above those shared by him with the three higher *varṇas* consists in the protection of all creatures (*rakṣaṇam sarvabhūtānām*). How strictly this function was interpreted by the author is illustrated by a subsequent text (G. X. 46-47). Here we are told that the king, having recovered property stolen by thieves, must restore it to the owner, failing which he must pay its value out of his own treasury. It is probably in the light of this fundamental duty of the king that we have to understand the somewhat enigmatical passage in G. (X. 15). Here it is mentioned among the king's additional duties that he shall travel about the kingdom, mounted on a chariot and wielding the bow.

Like G. Vas. (XIX. 1) declares the king's particular duty (*svadharma*) to be the maintenance of all created beings (*pālanaṃ bhūtānām*). That this protection was literally extended to the inanimate creation is proved by another passage (Vas. XIX. 11-12) which requires the king not to injure, except for purposes of cultivation, trees bearing fruits or flowers[1].

In the spirit of G.'s text above-quoted, Āp. brings home to the king's agents their responsibility for the protection of their charges. For he says (II. 10. 26. 4 f.) that the agents whom the king appoints in towns and villages for protection of the people must be made to repay what is stolen within their respective jurisdictions.

Similarly Viṣ. after declaring generally (III. 1) that the king's duty is to protect his subjects observes (III. 66-67) that the king, having recovered property (*dhanam*) stolen by thieves, must restore it entire to its owner, to whatever *varṇa* the latter may belong. Failing this, the king must pay its value out of his own treasury. Elsewhere (III. 43-44) Viṣ. inculcates the king's duty of defending his kingdom against foreign attack even at the cost of his life. The merging of the subjects' interests in those of the king is emphasized in the striking dictum (III. 28) of Viṣ. namely that the king takes one-sixth of the good as well as bad deeds of his subjects (*prajā*).

Finally, we may recall that the sections on civil and criminal law in the *Dharmasūtras* contain numerous clauses dealing with offences against person and property.

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[1] With this agree Har. and Mas. on G. X. 7. According to them the use of the word 'all' (*sarva*) in the text extends the king's duty of protection also to stationary objects (*sthāvaras*).

## II. *State relief of specific classes*

It is no doubt as a corollary of the king's fundamental duty of protection mentioned above, that the *Dharmasūtras* charge him with relief of various specified classes of people. These works give us, in the first place, more or less similar lists of classes that are exempted from taxation. The list in Vas. (XIX. 23-24) comprises the following classes :—

(*a*) one learned in the Vedas (*śrotriya*). (*b*) the king's servant (*rājapumān*), (*c*) one without protection (*anātha*), (*d*) a mendicant (*pravrajita*), (*e*) infant (*bāla*), (*f*) an old man, (*g*) a youngman who is a student (*taruṇa*), (*h*) newly confined women (*prajātās*), (*i*) widows who have returned to their former family (*prāggamikās*), (*j*) unmarried maidens, (*k*) wives of servants[2]

Āp's list of persons exempt from taxation (II. 10. 26. 10f.), is as follows :—

(*a*) One learned in the Vedas (*śrotriya*), (*b*) women of all *varṇas*, (*c*) male children before appearance of signs of puberty, (*d*) those who live with their teacher for study, (*e*) ascetics intent upon performing their duties, (*f*) a Śūdra who lives by washing the feet, (*g*) blind, dumb, and diseased persons, (*h*) those to whom acquisition of property is forbidden.

It will be observed that Āp., on the whole, is more liberal than Vas.[3]

Not only do the *Dharmasūtras* give us catalogues of classes exempt from taxes, but they also mention specific classes that are, over and above, to be supported by the king. The list in G. (X. 9-12) consists of the following :—(*a*) *Śrotriyas* who are *Brāhmaṇas*, (*b*) those unable to work (*nirutsāhas*) even if they are not Brāhmaṇas, (*c*) those who are free from taxes (*akaras*) (*d*) temporary students (*upakurvaṇas*).[4] According to Vas. (XVII. 54 and XIX. 35-36), the king is to maintain eunuchs and mad men, since their property devolves upon him. From a unique passage of Vas. (XIX. 20) we learn that the king is to provide pensions for wives of soldiers killed in battle[5]. Āp., while giving no list of persons required to be supported by the king, shows a more liberal attitude than all the other authorities. The spirit of his teaching is illustrated in the memorable dictum (II. 10. 25. 11.) that no one in the kingdom (*viṣaya)* shall suffer hunger, sickness, cold or heat, whether through want or intentionally[6]. In harmony with the above is an earlier passage (Āp. II. 10. 25. 8-9), which states that the king's guest-house (*āvasatha*) shall be open to all guests (at least to *Śrotriyas*) who are to be provided with rooms, bed, food and drink. In another passage (II. 10. 26. 22-23), Āp. requires the King to support women and damsels who have been defiled and to protect them against further defilement. Elsewhere (II. 3. 7. 12.) Āp. requires the king to treat his guests with higher honour (*pūjā*) than himself[7].

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[2] Vas's further list of exemptions from taxation (XIX. 26, Ibid 37) comprises the following:—(a) the usufruct of rivers, dry grass, forests, places of combustion, and mountains, (b) a sum less than one *kārṣāpaṇa*, (c) livelihood gained by art, (d) an infant and a messenger (e) a *Śrotriya*, (f) a mendicant, (g) what is gained by alms, (h) what is left over after theft and (i) sacrifice. It will be observed that some of these are repeated from the text quoted above.

[3] According to Viṣ V. 132-133 a ferry-man (*nāvika*) or a toll-house official (*śaulkika*), who takes toll (*śulka*) from a student, an ascetic, a mendicant or a pilgrim, is to pay a fine of ten *paṇas* and to pay back the toll. This rule, though confined to a particular item of taxation, is in the spirit of the texts of Vas. and Āp. quoted above.

[4] Under the group 'those unable to work' Mas. includes the indigent (*dīna*) and the helpless (*anātha*), as well as Brāhmaṇas incapable of work. Under the clause 'those who are free from taxes' Mas. includes not only non-Brāhmaṇa mendicants, but also the diseased, the affrighted, and so forth. This last clause however is interpreted by Har. simply to mean that the king shall maintain the immunity granted to Brāhmaṇas etc. by former kings, and shall not impose new

We have a reminiscence of the striking dictum of Āp. (II. 10 25 11) quoted above in Viṣ. who says (III. 79-80) that no Brāhmaṇa or any other person engaged in pious acts (*satkarmanirata)* must be allowed by the king to suffer from hunger in his kingdom (*viṣaya*).

### III. *Guardianship of the property of minors etc.*

Resulting also from the king's primary duty of protection is his responsibility for guardianship of the property of minors and other classes. According to G. (X. 48) the property of infants must be protected, until they attain their majority or complete their studies.[8] The king, says Vas. (XVI. 7-9), must protect the property of infants of the royal stock (*rājabāladhanāni*) as well as that of persons unfit to transact

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taxes. In the case of the clause relating to 'temporary students' Har. as well as Mas. extends its application to physicians and so forth who benefit the people.

[5] Vas. (XIX. 30f) is taken by Bühler (*S.B.E.* XIV, p. 99*n*) to mean that a new King after his accession is to maintain his predecessor's mother, the paternal and maternal uncles of the Chief Queen and so forth.

[6] *Na kaścit,* 'no one', is explained by Har. as 'even a non-Brāhmaṇa'. Bühler's translation (*S.B.E.* II. p. 162) as 'no (Brāhmaṇa)' lacks corroboration.

[7] According to Har. the guests should be honoured by the king through his *purohita*. It should be noted that a guest (*atithi*) is defined by Āp. (II. 3. 6. 5.) as 'one who approaches solely for the fulfilment of his religious duties and with no other object, a house-holder who lives intent on the fulfilment of his duties.

[8] Mas. extends the scope of this text so as to make the king the guardian of the property of others who are unable to protect themselves. On the other hand Har. confines its application to cases where the infant has no well-wishing guardian, or else the guardians are incompetent or dishonest.

legal business (*aprāptavyavahāra*). When the minor comes of age, concludes Vas. the king must make over his property to him[9]. Likewise Viṣ. says (III. 65) that the king must protect the property of infants (*bāla*), of helpless persons (*anātha*) and women.

### IV. *Guardianship of lost and ownerless property*

With the function last named which practically constitutes the king as a Court of Wards for helpless persons, we may connect the king's guardianship of lost and ownerless property. Vas. (XVI. 19-20), while laying down that property entirely given up by the owner goes to the king, states that in the contrary case[10] the king with his ministers (*mantrīs*) and the citizens (*nāgaras*) must administer it. Similar but not identical is the rule of B. who says (I. 10, 18. 16) that the king shall guard during a year the property of non-Brāhmaṇas, the owner of which has disappeared. In the text of Vas. quoted above, we have a unique reference to joint administration of ownerless property by a mixed Board of officials and non-officials. But unhappily nothing more is mentioned about the composition and functions of this Board.

### V. *Guardianship of Dharma*

In the Vedic *Saṁhitās* and the *Brāhmaṇas* we have hints of the king's guardianship of the Sacred Law (*vrata* or *dharma*).[11] This function is fully developed in the *Dharmasūtras*. According to G. (XI. 9-10) the king shall protect *varṇas* and *āśramas* in accordance with justice (*nyāya*) and shall lead those straying from the path of duty (*svadharma*) back to the same.[12] The enforcement of the respective duties of the four *varṇas* with due regard to the customs (*dharma*) of regions (*deśa*), caste-subdivisions (*jāti*) and clans or families (*kula*) is inculcated upon the king by Vas. (XIX. 7). Needless to say, the sanction for enforcement of this duty is a spiritual one. In the context above mentioned

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[9] *Rājabāladhanāni*, 'the property of infants of the royal stock', is translated as above by Bühler (*S.B.E.* XIV, p. 79). As Bühler points out, Kṛṣṇapaṇḍita, commenting on Vas's text cited above, makes it mean that the king must protect the infant children of a hostile king who has been conquered and slain. This interpretation would bring Vas's text within the scope of International Law and Custom, but it is lacking in corroboration.

[10] I.e. as explained by Bühler (*S.B.E.* XIV. p. 81*n*), if the owner gave up his property temporarily without leaving anyone to take charge of the same.

[11] See *H.P.L.* p. 64 for reference.

[12] Har. very properly distinguishes the scope of this text from G. X. 7. above quoted, relating to the king's duty of protecting all beings. While the latter, he says refers to protection against robbers and the like, the former has in view the prevention of inter-mixture of duties (*dharmas*) belonging to the *varṇas* and the *āśramas*.

G. quotes (XI. 11) a Vedic authority to the effect that the king shares in the spiritual merit (*dharma*) gained by his subjects. More complex than G.'s rule is that of Āp. who contemplates the punishment of Brāhmaṇa offenders against caste duties by the *purohita* and of other offenders by the king himself. The spiritual guide, says he, II. 5. 10. 12f., shall order those who, having been sanctified by sacraments according to law (*śāstrairadhigatāḥ*), have gone astray through weakness of their senses, to perform appropriate penances (*nirveṣa*) according to the precepts. The spiritual guide, continues Āp., shall take such persons as transgress his order to the king, and the king in his turn shall send them to his *purohita*. The *purohita* shall prescribe penances for Brāhmaṇa offenders, and in case of their default shall reduce them to reason by forcible means short of corporal punishment and servitude (*badhadāsyavarjam*).[13] In the case of men of other castes, Āp. concludes II. 5. 11. If., the king, after examining their actions may inflict any punishment extending even to death (*āprāṇaviyogāt*). By way of safeguard Āp. declares that the king shall not punish on mere suspicion (*sandeha*), but may punish after carefully investigating the case (*suvicitan vicitya*) by means of ordeals (*daiva*) and questions addressed to witnesses (*praśna*). Evidenty it was thought that while the warning to proceed by judicial investigation was unnecessary in the *purohita's* case, it was very necessary in the case of the king. In another passage, however, Āp. asks the king directly to imprison and in the long run banish breakers of caste regulations. For he says (II. 10. 27. 18-19) that the king shall keep in secret confinement (*rahasi bandhayet*) till promise of amendment (*āsamāpatteḥ*) one who breaks the rules of his caste or order (*niyamātikramin*), and the king shall banish him, if he does not amend. Turning lastly to Viṣ. (III. 3). We find him including maintenance of *varṇas* and *āśramas* in their respective paths among the king's duties (*rājadharma*). In another passage (III. 94.) Viṣ. emphatically says that there is no one deviating from his *dharma* who should be left unpunished by the king.

A new function of the king in the Dharma-sūtras, which is an index of the importance of mercantile economy in these later times, is his control over trade and commerce. We have a slight reference to this function in Vas. who declares (XIX. 13). that the king shall guard against falsification of weights and measures (*mānonmāne*) that are necessary for households (*gārhasthyāṅgā*). We have a long list of clauses relating to offences by or against merchants (V. 122f.) in Viṣ's chapter on civil and criminal law, but these passages are evidently of later date.

U. N. GHOSHAL

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[13] *Śāstā*, 'spiritual guide', is explained by Har. as *ācārya* and so forth. *Śāstram*, order, is explained by the same authority as *Śaśanam*.

# A new Charter of Mahāsudevarāja of Śarabhapura

Recently a set of Copper-plates was presented to me by Pandit Krishna Kinkar Prasad Tiwari, a resident of Sarangarh State. It consists of three leaves, like other charters of the Śarabhapura kings; these are fastened in a ring mounted on a circular seal having the legend in two lines below the Gajalakṣmī device. The characters are box-headed otherwise known as Vākāṭaka script and resemble those of the other charters of the donor and his family.

The inscription is in 24 lines—six lines on each of the four sides of three plates. The first side of the 1st plate is blank while the 2nd side of the 3rd plate contains only eight words—the name of the engraver in one line—just in the middle of the top portion. The engraving is uniform and beautiful.

Unlike the charters of Mahāsudevarāja issued in his 2nd and 10th regnal years it is issued from *Śrīpura* and not from Śarabhapura although in the wordings of the text there is no departure in any way. The record is dated in the 7th regnal year of the donor Mahāsudevarāja.

The special importance of the charter lies in the following two points: —

(i) It gives the name of the father of Mahāsudevarāja.
(ii) It mentions one *Mahāsāmanta* as the *dūtaka* (messenger) who delivered the document.

The relevant portions from the text are quoted here: —

A

1st plate, Reverse

Line 1. ॐ स्वस्ति श्रीपुराद्विक्रमोपनतसामन्तमकुटचूडामणिप्रभाप्रसेका-
Line 2. म्बुधौतपादयुगलो रिपुविलासिनो सीमन्तोद्धारणहेतुर्वसुवसुधा-
Line 3. गोप्रदः परम भागवतो मातापितृपादानुध्यातः श्रीमहादुर्गराजपुत्र-
Line 4. श्रीमहासुदेवराजः । * * * *

Uptil now the name of **श्रीमहादुर्गराज** was unknown to scholars, who took **मानमात्र** as the father of Mahāsudevarāja of the Śarabhapur line.[1]

In Chattisgarh there is a town called Duruga[2] (**दुर्ग**) which is now the head-quarters of a district formed in 1905-06 by the same

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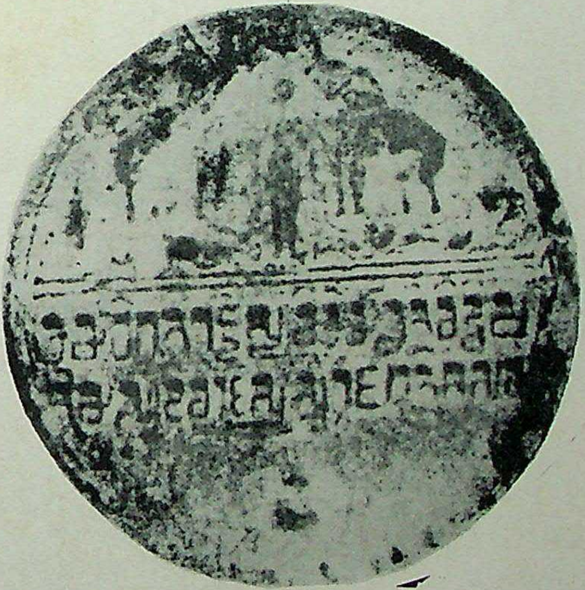
[1] G. Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Ancient History of the Deccan*, 1920, pp. 77-79.

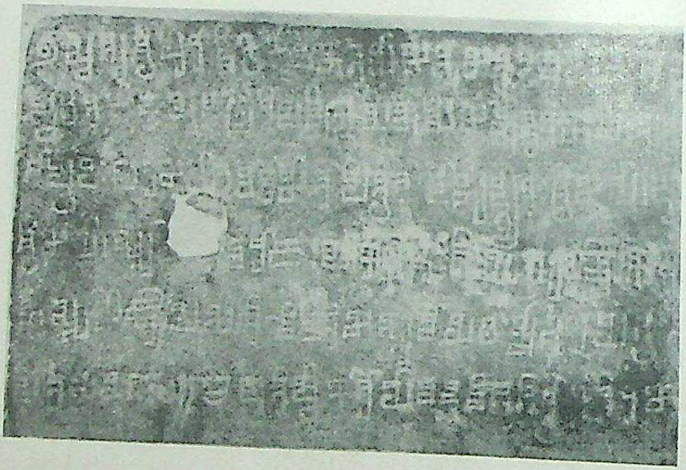
[2] Locally the name is pronounced as Durug—a dialectic form of Sanskrit word *Durga*. The *official* form is Drug!

# CHARTER OF MAHĀSUDEVARĀJA OF ŚARABHAPURA

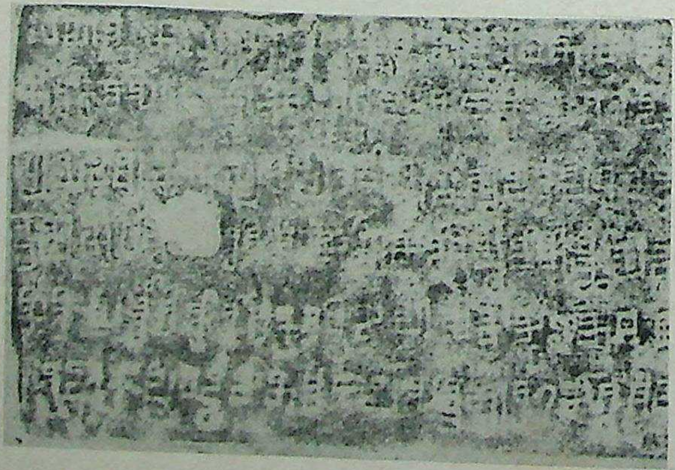


*Gajalakṣmī Seal*

# CHARTER OF MAHĀSUDEVARAJA OF ŚARABHAPURA



*First Plate—obverse*



*Third Plate—obverse*

name, while before 1905, it used to be the head-quarters of a Sub-Division under the old Raipur District in Chattisgarh, C. P. In an inscription on a stone slab found at 'Drug' town, appears the word *Śivadurga*. This is suggestive of the fact that the town of '*Drug*' was founded by Durgarāja of our present charter.

The following quotation from Hirālāl's List of C. P. Inscriptions will throw some light on the point:—

"Drug District C. P.'s (232) *Drug Stone Inscription*
(Deposited in the Raipur Museum)

There are two different inscriptions on this stone. The first one speaks of a *Vaiṣṇava* temple and refers to a king Śivadeva, and the second mentions the names 'Śivapura' and 'Śivadurga' associated together, indicating that the *town* and the *fort* were separate in the times of Śivadeva and he gave the name to both of them. The present name of Drug appears to be a contraction of the old Śivadurga." (Hiralal's *Inscriptions in C. P. & Berar*, 2nd ed. 1932, p. 135).

This stone inscription is, like the Lakṣmaṇa temple inscription from *Śrīpura* set up by queen Vāsaṭā mother of king Mahā-Śivagupta Bālārjuna of Mahākosala, recorded in the *Kuṭila* Nāgarī script attributed to 600-700 A.D.

B

After दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालन on the 3rd plate, Obverse

Line 5. मिति । सर्व्वाधिकाराधिकृत श्रीमहासामन्त इन्द्रबलराज-

Line 6. श्वातदूतकः प्रवर्द्धमान विजय सम्वत्सर ७ मार्गशीर्ष दि० १०-

In the above **श्रीमहासामन्त इन्द्रबलराज** is no other than the son of **उदयन** and father of **नन्नदेव** or **नन्नेश्वर** who is mentioned in the Rajim and Baloda plates of his son Tīvaradeva, the supreme lord of Kosala apparently Mahākosala. This charter, therefore, will be most helpful in assigning the dates for **महाछुदेवराज** and **महासामन्त इन्द्रबलराज**—both of whom were contemporaries.

Reserving further criticism and discussion for a future article, I close this notice by reproducing the **श्लोक** on the seal:

क्रमाधिगतराज्यस्य विक्रमोत्खातविद्विषः
श्रीत्सुदेवराजस्य स्थिरं जगतिशासनं ॥

I may add that the ring with the seal is still un-cut and the engraver in the present case is one **गोलसिङ्ह** who engraved the Thakurdiya plates[3] of Mahāpravararāja, son of Māna-mātra.

The object of the charter was the grant of a village named Suṇikā in Dhakarī *Bhoga* to a Brāhmaṇa.

L. P. PANDEYA SARMA

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[3] *J. A. H. R. S.*, vol. IX, pt. 2, pp. 29-32.

# MISCELLANY

## Sujan Vilās

The *Sujan Vilās* is a manuscript of 1807 V. S. (1750 A. D.) written by Somnath Caturvedi alias Śaśinātha, a court poet of Maharaja Soorajmal, the founder of the Bharatpur State.

The manuscript contains 342 pages. It is still unpublished. It was written for the use of Maharaja Soorajmal when he was Crown-Prince as the poet states in his benedictory portion of the poem.

[हरिगीति छन्द]

जब लग्गि सरछैरिप अगव्वै चन्द पंकजमित्त है
छिति सेष अरु अलकेस सुन्दर सोमनाथ अमित्त है ।
तब लग्गि पितु अरु पुत्तनाती आदिवित्त सहित्त ही
ब्रजराज यह युवराज सूरजमल्ल राजहु नित्त ही ॥

Though the manuscript is written in Braj Bhāṣā it is mixed with some Rajasthani form of language such as लग्गि, अगव्वै ।

The poet begins his manuscript with the praise of the Braj Bhūmī which he thinks to be a holy land.

[सवैया]

ग्रामनि में द्रुमपुञ्जनिकुञ्जप्रफुल्लितसौरभ की भरनी है ।
चारुप्रभाकर की तनियां अरु चारि पदारथ की फरनी है ॥
नित्त जपै शशिनाथ हिये जहँ की रजपापनि की हरनी है ।
लोकनियों बरनी करनी दुख की हरनी ब्रजकी धरनी है ॥

He ends his manuscript with the following Dohā:

संवत् विक्रम भूप कौ अट्ठारह सै सात ।
जेठ शुद्ध तृतीया रवौ भयौ ग्रन्थ अवदात ॥

CHATURBHUJ DAS CHATURVEDI

# Text of the Puranic List of Peoples*

F. E. Pargiter made some interesting remarks in regard to the historical sections common to several of the Purāṇas. His views (cf. *The Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, Oxford University Press, 1913, p. xxvi f.) may be summarised as follows. The *Bhv.* was the first Purāṇa to give an account of the dynasties of the Kali age and the *Mts*, *Vy* and *Bmd* got their accounts from it, though they as well as some other Purāṇas existed before the *Bhv*. Metrical accounts of the dynasties of North India grew up gradually, composed in ślokas in a literary Prakrit and recited by bards and minstrels. After the introduction of writing about the 7th century B.C., the accounts were composed and written down in or near

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* Abbreviations :—

*AA*—*Ain-i-Akbari* tr. by Jarret. Vol. II.
*Ac*—*Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*.
*Bgvt*—*Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, Baṅgabāsī Office, Calcutta
*Bhv*—*Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*.
*Bmd*—*Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa*, Baṅgabāsī Office, Calcutta.
*Bmh*—*Brahma Purāṇa*, Bangabāsī Office, Calcutta.
*Bs*—*Bṛhatsaṃhitā*—*a* Baṅgabāsī Office, Calcutta ; *b* Restored text of the Ms
consulted by Al Bīrūnī (c. 1030 A.D.)
*Grd*—*Garuḍa Purāṇa*, Baṅgabāsī Office, Calcutta.
*Km*—Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*. G.O.S. ed., Baroda.
*Krm*—*Kūrma Purāṇa*—*a* Bangabāsī Office, Calcutta ; *b* Bibliotheca Indica,
RASB, Calcutta; *c* Veṅkateśvar Press, Bombay.
*Mbh*—*Mahābhārata* , Baṅgabāsī Office, Calcutta.
*Mk*—*Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*—*a* ed. M. C. Pal, Calcutta, 1890; *b* Bibliotheca
Indica, RASB, Calcutta, 1862; *c* Baṅgabāsī Office, Calcutta; *d* Veṅka-
teśvar Press, Bombay.
*Mts*—*Matsya Purāṇa*—*a* Baṅgabāsī Office, Calcutta; *b* Veṅkateśvar Press,
Bombay; *c* Ānandāśrama Press, Poona; *d* Restored text of the Ms.
consulted by Al Bīrūnī (c. 1030 A.D.)
*PH.*—*Political History of Ancient India* by H. C. Raychaudhuri, 1938.
*Ram*—*Rāmāyaṇa*, Nirṇayasāgar Press, Bombay.
*SS*—*The Successors of the Sātavāhanas* by D. C. Sircar, 1939.
*Tks*—Puruṣottama's *Trikāṇḍaśeṣa*.
*Vj*—Yādavaprakāśa's *Vaijayantī*.
*Vmn*—*Vāmana Purāṇa*—*a* ed. M. C. Pal, Calcutta, 1893; *b* Veṅkateśvar
Press, Bombay.
*Vy*—*Vāyu Purāṇa*—*a* Baṅgabāsī Office, Calcutta; *b* Restored text of the
Ms consulted by Al Bīrūnī (c. 1030 A.D.); *e* Bibliotheca Indica. RASB,
Calcutta; *d* Veṅkateśvar Press, Bombay; *e* Ānandāśrama Press, Poona.

**[Other editions of the works that have been consulted will be indicated later.]**

Magadha in Māgadhī or Pāli. The *Bhv.* appropriated the Prakrit metrical accounts and converted the Prakrit ślokas into Sanskrit in the form of a prophecy uttered by Vyāsa. This reshaping was carried through generally but not yet completely, and revisions of the text with new inclusions were taking place from time to time. The account of the Andhras (Sātavāhanas) originally composed in North India and written in Kharoṣṭhī was incorporated into the text about the middle of the 3rd century A. D. The *Mts* borrowed the accounts from the *Bhv* during the last quarter of the 3rd century. These *Bhv.* accounts which were still in Kharoṣṭhī and cannot now be traced in the extant text of the Purāṇa were revised during the first quarter of the 4th century and the revised text was borrowed by the *Vy* now represented by a Ms (*e* Vāyu of Pargiter) in the India Office Library. The text was revised again about the beginning of the second quarter of the 4th century and this version was adopted by the *Vy* and soon after by the *Bmd* (which may have copied from the *Vy*) and now constitutes their general versions. The *Vsn* next utilised the accounts about the end of the 4th century and condensed it in Sanskrit prose. About the 8th or the 9th century, the *Bgvt* (which in the main condensed the matter into new ślokas) drew its materials from the *Bmd* and more particularly from the *Vsn*. The *Grd* whose date is uncertain utilised the same materials but has a bald list of the kings in new Sanskrit ślokas. Since those times a quiet process of small emendations in details has been at work in these Purāṇas.

Some of the theories of Pargiter have been criticised. If we believe that the Brāhmī alphabet evolved out of the prehistoric Indus valley script, we should only speak of the growth of the popularity of writing and not of the introduction of writing about the 7th century B. C. The Andhras (Sātavāhanas) of the Deccan had nothing to do with the northwestern region of India where the Kharoṣṭhī script was prevalent ; it is therefore difficult to believe that the historical accounts of this royal family were originally composed in northern (north-western ?) India and written in Kharoṣṭhī. The definite epochs suggested by Pargiter for the composition, revision or transmission of the particular texts are again no better than tentative. But from a study of the sections on cosmography and geography which are common to several of the Purāṇas, it appears that Pargiter is probably right as regards the chronological sequence of at least some of the Purāṇas with which he deals. As to the suggestion that the original of the historical sections of the Purāṇas was composed in Prakrit, we know that the theory has been contested by Kieth (*JRAS.*, 1914, p. 1021 ff ; 1915, p. 328 ff), though Winternitz (*HIL*, I, p. 524 n) seems to be inclined to agree with Pargiter. It is interesting to note that the geographical section exhibits Prakrit influence in such form of names as भरुकच्छ, वेदभ, ऋष्यवन्त, शुक्तिमन्ती, etc. It may be pointed out that the geographical sections, especially the list of *janapadas*, found in the *Bmd*, *Mk*, *Mts*, *Vmn* and *Vy* practically follow the same draft. The original draft seems to have been compiled for *Mts*. The *Vy* text appears to be the earliest copy from that of the *Mts*. The *Mk* probably copied the text from *Vy* at a slightly later date ; but a little independence of the copyist in the arrangement of names in a few cases is noticed in this text. The *Bmd* furnishes us with a still later copy of the *Vy* text. The date of this copy is possibly not far removed from the time of Al-bīrūnī (*c*. 1030 A.D.) who is known to have consulted a Ms of *Vy* in giving a list of peoples after the Purāṇas. *Krm*, which like some other Purāṇas, copies the smaller draft of the *Janapada* list from the *Vsn*, has a fuller list of rivers probably after the *Vy*. The smaller drafts both of the list of peoples and of rivers appear to have been compiled from the bigger drafts in the *Mts* and *Vy* for the first time for the *Vsn*. Like that of the *Bmd*, the *Krm* text does not seem to be far removed in point of time from the date of Albīrūnī. The *Vmn* appears however to be the latest copy of the modified draft as found in the other texts. But in several cases the compiler of the *Vmn* shows a tendency to arrange the names rather independently, although in many cases he does not go much beyond the originals before him. The new readings introduced by later copyists of the original draft or its modifications appear to have been, in some cases, offered by way of inprovement or correction, and it is sometimes difficult to determine the reading of the original draft. The fact however that even the late *Vmn* often leaves the mistakes of the other copies as they are probably points to the absence of any determined and persistent effort on the part of the copyists to deviate from the texts before them. It should be remembered that numerous mistakes had already crept into the *Vy* text as early as c. 1030 A.D. when Albīrūnī consulted a *Vy* Ms. The geographical section of the *Grd* exhibits considerable freedom, though it seems to have utilised the *Mk* section known as the *Kūrma-vibhāga*. The date of the *Grd* section seems to be close to that of the *Vmn*, as both add to the old description of the Kumārīdvīpa as पूर्व्वे किराता यस्यान्ते पश्चिमे यवनास्तथा, a new line placing the Turuṣkas in the north and the Andhras in the south. As these Turuṣkas and Andhras appear to be no other than the Turkish Musalmans and the Kākatiyas respectively, the *Vmn* and *Grd* sections on geography could not possibly have been compiled much earlier than the 13th century. The *Sv* also contains the same reference.

## TEXT

*Mk*, ch. 57 (ch. 54 in some versions), vv. 34-59 ; *Vy*, ch. 45, vv. 109-136. cf. Sachau, *Alb. Ind.*, I, pp. 299-300 ; *Bmd*, ch. 49, vv. 44-71 ; *Mts*, ch. 114, vv. 34-56 ; *Vmn*, ch. 13, vv. 36-58.

### I

[1]तास्विमे कुरुपाञ्चालाः[2] शाल्वाश्चैव स-जाङ्गलाः[3] ।
शूरसेना भद्रकारा[4] बोधाः सह-पटच्चराः (योधाः सह॰, योधेयाः स॰ ? )[5] ॥

1. The following two lines are omitted in Mk. Mbh (VI. 9, 39-40) however has—तत्रेमे कुरुपाञ्चालाः शाल्वा माद्रेय-जाङ्गलाः । शूरसेनाः पुलिन्दाश्च बोधा मालास्तथैव च ॥ मत्स्याः कुशल्याः सौशल्याः कुन्तयः कान्ति-कोशलाः । चेदि-मत्स्य-करूषाश्च भोजाः सिन्धु-पुलिन्दकाः ॥ As to the *janapadas* of the Madhyadeśa, Vmn has rather freely—यत्स्थाः ( *a*—यस्याः ) कुशूद्राः किल कुण्डलाश्च ( *a*—करण्ड॰) पञ्चालकाश्चैव (*a*—॰काश्च ) सह कौशिकैश्च । वृकाः शका (*a*—शाका ) वर्वर-कौरवाश्च कलिङ्ग-वङ्गाङ्गजनास्तथैते ॥ मर्मका मध्यदेशीया (*a*—॰देशावा ) आभीराः (*a*—अभीराः ) शाठ्यघानकाः ॥

2. Mts—तास्विमे कुरुपाञ्चालाः ; Vy, Bmd—तास्त्विमे कुरुपाञ्चालाः । For the Kuru country proper with its capitals at Hāstinapura in the present Meerut District and Indraprastha in the Delhi region, see PH, pp. 19-20, 113. For the Panchālas with their capitals at modern Rāmnagar in Bareilly Dist. and Kampil in Farrukhābād, ib, p. 114 f.

3. Vy, Bmd, Mts—शाल्वाश्चैव स-जाङ्गलाः ; Mbb—शाल्वा माद्रेय-जाङ्गलाः । For the six branches of the Sālva tribe, *Vj*, 1.3.I. 38-39. Jāṅgala is apparently the same as Kuru-Jāṅgala, see PH, p. I9 f. *Vj*—साल्वास्तु कारकुत्सी (Ac—त्ती)यास्तेषां त्वबयबाः परे । उदुम्बरास्तिलखला महां(द्र)कारा युगन्धराः । हु(भु)लिंगाः शरदण्डाश्च षट् साल्वावयवा इमे ॥

Cf. the traditional verse referring to the constituting elements of the Sālva er Kārakukṣīya tribe that lived in the Panjab and adjoining regions of U. P. and Rajputana, quoted by grammarians, *Pre-Aryan and pre-Dravidian in India*. p. 80.

4. Vy, Bmd, Mts—शूरसेना भद्रकाराः ; Mbh—शूरसेनाः पुलिन्दाश्च । The Bhadrakāras are apparently the same as the Madrakāras who were a branch of the Sālva tribe ( supra, note 3 ) and inhabited the north eastern part of the Punjab or the adjoining regions. The Sūrasenas were a branch of the Yādavas and lived about Mathurā, PH, p. I17 f.

5 Vy *acde* , Bmd—बोधाः शतपथेश्वरैः ; Vy *b*—बोधाः सहपथेश्वरैः ; Mts—वाह्याः सहपटच्चराः ; Mbh – बोधाः मालास्तथैवच. The Paṭaccaras are known from Grd, I, 55, 11—पञ्चालाः कुरवो मत्स्या यौधेयाः सपटच्चराः । कुन्तयः शूरसेनाश्च मध्यदेशजनाः स्मृताः । For the Yodheya or Yaudheya tribe of Grd, PH, pp. 457-58.

मत्स्याः किराताः कुल्याश्च[6] कुन्तयः काशि-कोशलाः[7] ।
आवन्ताश्च भुलिङ्गाश्च[8] मगधाश्चान्धकैः सह[9] ॥
मध्यदेश्या जनपदाः[10] प्रायशोमी प्रकीर्त्तिताः[11] ॥
[11a]सह्यस्य उत्तरार्द्धे तु[12] यत्र गोदावरी नदी[13] ।
पृथिव्यामिह कृत्स्नायां[14] स प्रदेशो मनोरमः[15] ॥

6. Vy *a*—वत्साः क्रिसल्वाः कुल्याश्च, *b*—वत्साः किसथाः कुल्याश्च, *c d e*—वत्साः किसष्णाः कुल्याश्च, *c* (v.l.) *e* (v.l.)—वत्साः क्रिसष्टाः कुल्याश्च, *e* (v.l.) वत्साः किसज्याः कुल्याश्च ; Bmd—वत्साः कुसट्टाः कुल्याश्च ; Mk—मत्स्याश्वकूटाः कुल्याश्च ; Mts—मत्स्याः किराताः कुल्याश्च । The first name is either Matsya (Jaipur-Alwar region) or Vatsa (Allahabad region). PH, pp. 111 f. Kirāta=Himalayan mountaineers ; cf. the name of the Kirantis who once reigned over a large portion of Nepal. Kulya (adjective)=people belonging to a tribe.

7. Vy, Mk, Bmd, Mts—कुन्तलाः काशिकोशलाः ; Mts *c* (v.l.)—कुन्तयः काशिकोशलाः ; Mbh—कुन्तयः कान्तिकोशलाः. The reading कुन्तयः is supported by Grd, I. 55, 11 quoted supra, n. 5. The Kuntis were a branch of the Yādava tribe living apparently not far from the Mathurā region. The Kāśis lived about Vārāṇasī (Benares). This Kośala is Uttara-Kosala with its capital at Ayodhyā (in the Fyzabad Dist). See PH. pp. 8 ff, 84 ff.

8. Mts—आवन्ताश्च कलिङ्गाश्च ; Mk *a c* (v.l.)—अथर्वाश्च कलिङ्गाश्च, *b*—अथर्वाश्चार्कलिङ्गाश्च, *c*—अथवाश्चाकलिङ्गाश्च, *d*—अर्बुदाश्चार्कलिङ्गाश्च ; Bmd—प्रथमाश्च कलिङ्गाश्च ; Vy *ae*—अर्थपाश्च तिलङ्गाश्च, *cde* (v.l.)—अथ पार्श्वे तिलङ्गाश्च, *b*—अर्थयाश्चपुःलिङ्गाश्च (sic. अर्थपाश्च भुलिङ्गाश्च). The Bhulingas were a branch of the Sālva tribe; cf. supra, note 3. The Avantas are apparently the same as the Avantis who lived in West Malwa and had their chief city at Ujjain. PH, pp. 122-23.

9. Mk.—मलकाश्च वृकैः सह ; Bmd, Vy *acde*—मगधाश्च वृकैः सह, *b*—मषकाश्च वृकैः सह ; Mts—मूकाश्चैवान्धकैः सह. Magadha=Patna and Gaya Districts of Bihār; PH. p. 94 ff. The Andhakas were a branch of the Yādava tribe and possibly lived originally not far from Mathurā. Later they appear to have migrated towards Kathiawar.

10 Mk—मध्यदेश्या जनपदाः ; Vy, Bmd, Mts—मध्यदेशा जनपदाः

11. Mk, Vy, Bmd—प्रायशोमी प्रकीर्तिताः ; Mts—प्रायशः परिकीर्तिताः

11a. The following lines including those referring to Govardhana are omitted in some of the *Vy* Mss. The verse is quoted in *Km*.

12. Vy *a*—सह्यस्य उत्तरार्द्धे तु, *cde*—सह्यस्य चोत्तरार्द्धे तु, *e* (v.l.)—सह्यस्य चोत्तरार्द्धे तु ; Mk *a*—सह्यस्य चोत्तरे यस्तु, *bcd*—सहस्य चोत्तरे यास्तु ; Bmd—सह्यस उत्तरान्ते तु. Sahya=the Western Ghats excluding the Travancore hills.

13. Mk, Vy, Bmd—यत्र गोदावरी नदी ; Mts—तत्र गोदावरी नदी. The Puranic passage further refers to the holy place called Govardhana near Nasik on the Godāvarī river.

14. Vy, Bmd—पृथिव्यामिह कृतस्नायां ; Mk, Mts—पृथिव्यामपि कृतस्नायां

15. Mk, Vy, Bmd, Mts—स प्रदेशो मनोरमः

## II

वाह्लीका वाटधानाश्च[16] आभीराः कालतोयकाः[17] ।
अपरान्ताश्च ( परान्ताश्चैव ? ) शू(क्षु?)द्राश्च[18] पह्लवाश्चर्मखण्डिकाः[19] ॥
गान्धारा यवनाश्चैव[20] सिन्धु-सौवीर-मद्रकाः[21] ।
शतद्रुजाः कुणिन्दाश्च[22] पारदा हारहूणका[23] ॥

16. Mk, Vy *ac*, Bmd, Mts, Vmn—वाह्लीका वाटधानाश्च, Vy *b*—वाह्लीका वाढवानाश्च, *de* (v.l.)—वाह्लीका वाढधानाश्च. Valhika = modern Balkh about the northern frontiers of Afghanistan.

17. Mk, Vy, Bmd, Mts—आभीराः कालतोयकाः ; Vmn *a*—अभीराः कालतोयदाः, *b*—अभिराः कालतोयदाः. For the Ābhīras who lived to the north of the Rajputana desert, see SS, p. 242 f. We may also think of Abiravān between Herat and Kandahar which may have been the original home of the Ābhīras.

18. Mk—अपरान्ताश्च शूद्राश्च, Vy *acde*, Bmd—अपरीताश्च शूद्राश्च ; Vy *b* omits शूद्र ; Mts *a*—पुरन्ध्राश्चैव शुद्राश्च, *bc*—पुरन्ध्राश्चैव शूद्राश्च, *c* (v. l )—परान्धाश्चैव शूद्राश्च ; Vmn—अपरान्तास्तथा शूद्राः. The Śūdras lived near the Ābhīras, SS, p. 242. Possibly we have to read परान्ताश्चैव in place of अपरान्ताश्च. As the Śūdras are mentioned below separately (note 27), we may possibly suggest Kṣudra or kṣudraka, PH, p. 205.

19. Mk *ad*, Vy *be* (v.l)—पह्लवाश्चर्मखण्डिकाः ; Vy *acde*—पह्लवाश्चर्मखण्डिकाः ; Mk *bc*, Bmd—पल्लवाश्चर्मखण्डिकाः ; Mts—पल्लवाश्चात्तखण्डिकाः ; Vmn—पल्लवाश्च सखेटकाः. Pahlava = the Pahlavis or Persians (Sasanians?). Carmakhaṇḍika = people of Samarkand.

20. Mk *acd*, Vy, Bmd, Mts, Vmn—गान्धारा यवनाश्चैव ; Mk *b*—गान्धारा गबलाश्चैव. Gandhāra = the Rawalpindi and Peshawar Districts, PH, p. 124 f. The ancient capitals of the country were Takṣaśilā and Puṣkalāvatī and Udabhāṇḍapura in the early medieval period. Yavana = Indo-Greek settlements in the north western part of India and adjoining lands, cf. SS, p. 31.

21. Mk, Bmd, Mts *abe*—सिन्धुसौवीरमद्रकाः ; Vy *acde*, Mts *c* (v.l.), Vmn—सिन्धुसौवीरभद्रकाः ; Vy *b*—सिन्धुसौवीरमध्रकाः । According to *Alb. Ind.*, I, pp. 259-60, 300, Sauvīra was identical with Multān and Jahrawār which latter lay about fifty miles below the junction of the Jhelam and the Chenab.

22. Mk—शतद्रुजाः कलिङ्गाश्च ; Vy *acde*—शकहृदाः कुलिन्दाश्च ; *e* (v.l,)—शका हृदाः कुणिन्दाश्च ; Bmd—शका हूणाः कुलिन्दाश्च ; Mts—शका द्रुह्याः पुलिन्दाश्च, *c* (v.l.)—शतद्रव(वः) पुलिन्दाश्च ; Vy *b*—शकाद्रिहा ललित्ताश्च. The ancient Kuṇindas are supposed to be represented by the modern Kunets of Kūlū and the Simla region ; but they formerly appear to have extended into the Saharanpur and Ambala Districts where their coins have been discovered in large members. See Smith, *Cat.*, p. 161. Satadruja = people of the Satlaj valley.

23. Bmd—पारदा हारहूणकाः ; Mk—पारदा हारभुषिकाः ; Vy *acde*—परिता हारपूरिकाः ; Mts—पारदा हारमूर्त्तिकाः, *c* (v.l.)—परेता हारमूषिकाः. Omitted in Vy *b*. The reading हारहूण is supported by Mbh, II, 32, 12, while Bs, XIV, 33.

रमठाः कण्टकाराश्च[24] कैकेया दशमानकाः[25] ।
क्षत्रियोपनिवेशाश्च[26] तथाशूद्रकुलानि च[27] ॥
[28]काम्बोजा दरदाश्चैव[29] वर्वरा अङ्गलौकिकाः[30] ।
चीनाश्चैव तुषाराश्च[31] बहुला बाह्यतो नराः[32] ॥

suggests हारहूर which is supported by Km. The Pāradas were the Parthians who lived in the Khorasan region. The Hārahūṇas or Hārahūras were probably a branch of the Huns who subjugated the whole land from Central Asia to Central India about the end of the 5th century A.D.

24. Mk—माठरा बहुभद्राश्च, Vy *a*—रमठा रद्धकटकाः ; *cde* -रमटा रद्धकटकाः ; Bmd. रमणा रुद्धकटकाः ; Mts—रामठाः कण्टकाराश्च ; Vmn—माठरोदकधाराश्च Omitted in Vy *b*.

25. Mk—कैकेया दशमालिकाः ; Bmd—केकषा दशमालिकाः ; Vy *ac*—केकया दशमाणिकाः, *de*—केकया दशमानिकाः ; Mts *a*—कैकेया दशमानकाः, *b*—कैकेया दशनामकाः, *c*—कैकेय्या दशनामकाः, *c* (v.l.)—कैकेय्या दशनामिकाः ; Vmn *a*—कैकेया दशमास्तथा, *b*—कैकेया दंशनास्तथा ; Vy *e* (v.l.)—केशपा दशमाणिकाः. Omitted in Vy *b*. For the Kekayas, PH, p. 52 ff.

26. Mk. Vy *acde*, Bmd—क्षत्रियोपनिवेशाश्च ; Mts—क्षत्रियोपनिवेश्याश्च ; Vmn—क्षत्रियाः प्रतिवैश्याश्च. Omitted in Vy *b*. For the Kṣatris, PH, p. 207.

27. Mk, Vy *acde*, Bmd—वैश्यशूद्रकुलानि च ; Mts—वैश्याः शूद्रकुलानि च ; Vmn—तथा शूद्रकुलानि च. Omitted in Vy *b*. See note 18 above.

28. The following two lines are omitted in Mts and partly in Vy *b*.

29. Mk, Vy *acde*, Bmd, Vmn—काम्बोजा दरदाश्चैव. The Kambojas probably lived in the land extending from the Rajauri valley in Kashmir to Kafiristan. The Daradas lived round Daratpurī in the upper valley of the Kishengaṅgā in northern Kashmir.

30. Mk *abc*—वर्वरा हर्षवर्द्धनाः ; Vy *acde*—वर्वराः प्रियलौकिकाः ; Mk *d*, Bmd—वर्वरा अंगलौकिकाः ; Vmn *a*—वर्वराश्चाङ्गलौकिकाः, *b*—वर्वराश्चाङ्गलोकिकाः. Aṅgaloka is also mentioned elsewhere in the Purāṇas ; cf. List of Rivers, x. Varvara reminds one of Barbaricum, a port on the principal mouth of the Indus in the early centuries of the Christian era. But apparently the same people is also mentioned elsewhere; cf. List of Rivers, note 14.

31. Mk *ad*, Bmd, Vy *e* (v.l.)—चीनाश्चैव तुषाराश्च ; Vy *acde*—पीनाश्चैव तुषाराश्च ; Mk *bc*—चीनाश्चैव तुखाराश्च ; Vmn—वेणाश्चैव तुषाराश्च. चीन=the Tibeto-Chinese peoples. तुखार, तुषार—cf. Tukhāristān of the Arabs which included the old Bactria and indicated the mountainous country on both sides of the middle Oxus as far as Badakhshān, though the country to the south of the river was usually understood by the name (Wellhausen, *AKF*, tr. p. 430). *AA*, pp. 118-19.

32. Mk *abc*—बहुला बाह्यतो नराः ; Vy *acde*, Mk *d*—पह्लवा बाह्यतोदराः ; Bmd—पह्लवाश्च क्षतोदराः ; Vmn—बहुधा बाह्यतो दराः ; Vy *b*—...मल्लकोदराः (?), *c* (v.l.)—रत्नधाराः क्षतोदराः

त्ततयोथ भरद्वाजाः[33] प्रस्थलाश्च दसेरकाः[34] ।
लम्पाकास्तल(श्च।व?)गानाश्च[35] चूलिका जागुडैः सह[36] ॥
[37]औपधा(औरसा ? )श्चानिभद्राश्च[38] किरातानाञ्च जातयः[39] ।
तोमरा हंसमार्गाश्च[40] काश्मीरास्तङ्गणास्तथा[41] ॥

33. Mk, Vy *acde*, Bmd—आत्रेयाश्च भरद्वाजाः ; Mts *a*—त्तत्रयोथ भरद्वाजाः, *bc*—अत्तयोथ भरद्वाजा ; Vmn—आत्रेयाः सभरद्वाजाः ; Vy *b*—आत्रेयाश्च भरद्वकाः

34. Mk *acd*—पुष्कलाश्च कशेरुकाः ; *b*—पुष्कलाश्च कुशेरुकाः ; Vy *acde*, Bmd—प्रस्थलाश्च कसेरुकाः ; Mts—प्रस्थलाः सदसेरकाः, *c* (v.l.)—प्रस्थलाः सहसौभकाः ; Vmn, Mk *c* (v.l.)—प्रस्थलाश्च दशेरकाः. Both Prasthala and Puṣkalāvataka are mentioned in the list of Vs, 16, 26. Rām. IV, 43, 11 locates Prasthala in the north. Puṣkala = people of Puṣklāvati, modern Prang-Charsadda-Mir Ziyarat region near Peshawar. Daseraka = Maru, i.e. the Marwar region in Rajputana.

35. Mk—लम्पाकाः शूलकाराश्च ; Vy *acde*, Bmd—लम्पाकास्तनपाश्चैव ; Mts *a*—लम्पाकास्तलनागाश्च *bc*—लम्पाकास्तलगानाश्च, *c* (v l.)—लम्पाकास्तङ्गणाश्चैव ; Vy *e* (v l.)—लम्पाकास्तानकाश्चैव, लम्पाकास्तनकाश्चैव, लम्पाकास्तनमाश्चैव, *b*—लम्पाकास्तालकूनाश्च. Lampāka = modern Laghman. The Āvagānas or Afghans are mentioned in Bs.

36. Mk—चुलिका जागुडैःसह ; Vy *acde*, Bmd—पोडिका जुहुडैः सह ; Vy *b*—मूलिकाजगरैः सह, *c* (v.l.)—चूडिका जुहुडैः सह ; Mts—सैनिकाः सह जाङ्गलैः ; Vmn—चूडिकास्तङ्गणैः सह । Jāguḍa = South Afghanistan with its capital at Ghazni.

37. The following three lines are omitted in Mts and Vy *b*.

38. Mk *a*—औपधाश्चालिभद्राश्च, *bd*—औपधाश्चानिमद्राश्च, *c*—औपधाश्चानिभद्राश्च ; Vy *a* अपसाश्चालिमद्राश्च ; Bmd, Vy *cde*—अपगाश्चालिमद्राश्च ; Vmn—अलसाश्चालिभद्राश्च. Aurasa = people of Urasā, modern Hazara Dist. (Note 26 of List of Rivers).

39. Mk, Vy *acde*, Bmd, Vmn—किरातानाञ्च जातयः

40. Mk—तामसा हंसमार्गाश्च ; Vy *acde*, Bmd—तोमरा हंसमार्गाश्च ; Vmn—तामसा कर्ममार्गाश्च. See note 110.

41. Mk *ac*, Vy *acde*, Bmd—काश्मीरास्तङ्गणास्तथा ; Mk *b*—काश्मीरास्तुङ्गणास्तथा, *d*—काश्मीरास्तुमणास्तथा ; Vmn—सुपार्श्वा गणकास्तथा. Kāśmīra = people of the upper Vitastā valley.

कुलूताश्चाहु( बाही ? )काश्चैव[42] ऊर्णा (हूणा ?) दर्वास्तथैव च[43] ।
एते देशा उदीच्यास्तु[44] प्राच्यान् देशान् निबोधत[45] ॥

## III

अङ्गा वङ्गा मुद्गरका[46] अन्तगिरिवहिर्गिरी[47] ।
[48]तथा प्रवङ्ग-वाङ्गेया[49] मलदा मल्लवर्त्तकाः[50] ॥

42. Mk—शूलिकाः कुहकाश्चैव ; Vy *a*, Bmd—चुलिकाश्चाहुकाश्चैव ; Vy *cde*—चूलिकाश्चाहुकाश्चैव ; Vmn *a*—कुलूतो कुहिकाश्चूर्णाः, *b*—कुलूताः कुहिकाश्चूणां ; Vy *e* (v.l.)—चूलिका बाहुकाश्चैव. For the Kulūtas, Allan, *Cat*, p. *c* ; for the Bāhikas, Sircar, *Sel. Ins.*, I, p. 276 n. (note 113).

43. Mk *ac*—जर्णादर्वास्तथैव च, *d*—ऊर्णादार्वास्तथैव च ; Bmd, Mk *b*—ऊर्णादर्वास्तथैव च ; Vmn—तूर्णपादाः सकुक्कुटाः ; Vy *acde*—पूर्णदर्वास्तथैव च. The reading suggested by another passage (note 113) is हूणादार्वा०. The *Harṣacarita* places the Hūṇas in the Uttarāpatha apparently somewhere about the Western Panjab. Dārva = people of Dārvābhisāra which roughly comprised the Punch and Naoshera regions between the Jhelum and the Chenab.

44. Mk *abc*—एते देशा ह्युदीच्यास्तु, *d*—एते दशाह्युदीच्यास्तु ; Vy *acde*, Bmd—एते देशाह्युदीच्याश्च ; Mts—एते देशा उदीच्यास्तु. Vmn has rather freely—भाण्डव्याः पानवीयाश्च उत्तरापथवासिनः

45. Vy *acde*, Bmd, Mts—प्राच्यान् देशान् निबोधत ; Mk—प्राच्यान् देशान् निबोध मे

46. Mk *abc*—अध्रारका मुदकराः, *d*—अभ्रा वका मुद्गरकाः, *c* (v.l.)—अन्ध्रवाश्च मुद्गरकाः ; Vy *acde*, Bmd—अन्ध्रवाकाः सुजरकाः ; Vy *b*—अन्ध्रवाका मुद्रकरकाः ; Mts *ab*—अङ्गा वङ्गा मद्गुरकाः, *c*—अङ्गा वङ्गा भद्गुरकाः, v.l.—अङ्गावङ्गा भद्रवकाः, अङ्गाबङ्गा मद्गुरुकाः ; Vmn—अङ्गावङ्गा मद्गुरवाः. Aṅga and Vaṅga appear to have been separated from Āṅgeya and Vāṅgeya. Mudgaraka (modern Monghyr) is the same as Mudgara of Km and Mudgagiri of inscriptions. For Aṅga and Vaṅga, PH, pp. 91 f. SS. p 30.

47 Mk *abc*—अन्तर्गिर्या बहिर्गिराः, *c* (v l.)—अन्तर्गिरबहिर्गिराः ; Vy *acde*, Bmd, Mk *d*—अन्तर्गिरिबहिर्गिराः ; Mts—अन्तर्गिरिबहिर्गिरी ; Vmn—खन्तर्गिरिवहिर्गिराः ; Vy *b*—प्रात्तगिरवहिर्गिराः. Antargiri and Babirgiri may be located towards the north of Prāgjyotiṣa (Assam) on the strength of Mbh, II, 27, 1-3,

48. The line is omitted in Mts *ab*.

49. Mk *ac*—यथा प्रवङ्गारङ्गेयाः, *b*—तथा प्रवङ्गारङ्गेयाः ; *c* (v.l.)—तथा सवङ्गा वङ्गेयाः, *d*—तथा प्रवङ्गा रंगेयाः ; Vy *acde*—तथा प्रवंगवंगेयाः, *b*—तथा प्रथंगवंगेयाः ; Bmd—तथा प्रवंगा वङ्गाश्च ; Vmn—तथा प्रवंगवाङ्गेयाः ; Mts *c*—ततः प्रवंगमातङ्गाः

50. Mk *abc*—मानदा मानवर्त्तिकाः, *c* (v.l.)—मालदा मालवर्त्तिकाः, *d*—मालदा मलवर्त्तिकाः ; Vy *acde*—मालदा मालवर्त्तिनः, *e* (v.l.)—मलदा मलवर्त्तिनः, मालेय

[51]ब्रह्मोत्तरा प्र(श्री?)विजया [52]भार्गवाङ्गेय-मल्लकाः[53] ।
प्राग्ज्योतिषाश्च पौण्ड्राश्च[54] विदेहास्ताम्रलिप्तकाः[55] ॥
मल्ला मगध-गोनर्दाः[56] प्राच्या जनपदाः स्मृताः[57] ॥

मलवर्त्तिनः, *b*—मालवा मालवर्त्तिकाः ; Mts *c*—यमका मल्लवर्णकाः ; Bmd—मालदा मालवर्णिकाः ; Vmn—मांसादा वलदन्तिकाः. The Maladas and Mallavartakas are also known from *Km* ; cf. also note 95 below.

51. This line is omitted in Vy *b*.

52. Mk *acd*—ब्राह्मोत्तराः प्रविजयाः ; Vy *acde*, Bmd, Vmn *a*, Mk *b*—ब्रह्मोत्तराः प्रविजयाः ; Vmn *b*—ब्रह्मोत्तराः प्राविजयाः, Mts *abc*—सुह्मोत्तराः प्रविजयाः, *c* (v l.) —सह्योत्तराः प्रविजयाः. The reading सुह्मोत्तर is not supported by Km which reads सुह्म (the ancient name of Rāḍha in south-west Bengal) and ब्रह्म or ब्रह्मोत्तर side by side. Brahmottara seems to be associated with the name of Burma which is derived from the Mrama one of the three tribes that migrated into Burma and ultimately lent their name as a national designation to all Burmese. cf. List of Rivers, note 41. Śrīvijaya (modern Palembang in Sumatra) was the capital of the Śailendra emperors in the early medieval period. For a Barmhattar in Sarkar Satgaon, *AA*, p. 141.

53 Mk *abc*—भार्गवा ज्ञेयमल्लकाः, *d*—भार्गवा गेयमल्लकाः ; Vy *acde*, Bmd—भार्गवा गेयमर्थकाः ; Mts *abc*—मार्गवा गेयमालवाः ; *c* (v.l.)—भार्गवागेयमालवाः, भार्गवाश्चार्यगालवाः, मार्गवा ये च मालवाः ; Vmn *a*—भार्गवांगेयमर्यकाः, *b*—भार्गवांगेयमर्षकाः

54. Mk—प्राग्ज्योतिषाश्च मद्राश्च ; Vy—प्राग्ज्योतिषाश्च मुण्डाश्च ; Bmd—प्राग्ज्योतिषाश्च पौण्ड्राश्च ; Mts—प्राग्ज्योतिषाश्च पुण्ड्राश्च ; Vmn—प्राग्ज्योतिषाः पृषध्राश्च. Prāgjyotiṣa = modern Gauhati Dist. of Assam and the adjoining region. Pauṇḍra = people of North Bengal with their city called पुण्ड्रनगर (later पुण्ड्रवर्द्धन ) modern Mahāsthān in Bogra Dist.

55. Mk, Vy *acde*, Bmd, Mts, Vmn—विदेहास्ताम्रलिप्तकाः ; Vy *b*—श्राबिकास्ताम्रलिप्तिकाः. Videha = a people living in North Bihār and the adjoining region with their capital at Mithilā, modern Janakpur in the Nepalese Tarai. Tamraliptaka = people of the district round mod. Tamluk in south-west Bengal.

56. Mk *abc*— मल्ला मगधगोमन्ताः ; *d*—मल्ला मगधगोमेदाः ; Vy—माला मगधगोविन्दाः ; Bmd—माला मगधगोनन्दाः ; Mts *a*—शाल्वमगध्रगोनर्दाः, *bc*—शाल्वमागधगोनर्दाः ; Vmn—माला मगधमानन्दाः For the Mallas, PH, p. 106 f. Note that Magadha was sometimes located in the Madhyadeśa (note 9) and sometimes in the Prācya. Vj which locates the Andhras and Sālvas (cf. notes 46, 56) in East India apparently relied on erroneous texts of the Purāṇas. For Gonarda which belonged to East India only theoretically, see *JAHRS*, *IX*, i, p. 1 ff.

57. Mk, Vy *a*, Bmd, Mts—प्राच्या जनपदाः स्मृताः ; Vmn—प्राच्या जनपदास्त्विमे ; Vy *cde*—प्राच्यां जनपदाः स्मृताः

## IV

[58]अथापरे जनपदा[59] दक्षिणापथवासिनः[60] ।
पाण्ड्याश्च केरलाश्चैव[61] चोलाः कुल्यास्तथैव च[62] ॥
सेतुका मूषिकाश्चैव[63] कुमारा वनवासकाः[64] ।
महाराष्ट्रा माहिषकाः[65] कलिङ्गाश्चैव सर्व्वशः[66] ॥
कावेराः सह चैषीका[67] आठव्याः शवराश्च ये[68] ॥

58. The following line is omitted in Vmn.

59. Mk, Vy, Bmd—अथापरे जनपदाः ; Mts—तेषां परे जनपदाः

60. Mk, Vy, Bmd, Mts—दक्षिणापथवासिनः

61. Mk *ac*, Vmn—पुण्ड्राश्च केरलाश्चैव ; Mk *b*—पुण्ड्राश्च केवलाश्चैव ; Vy, Bmd, Mts, Mk *d*—पाण्ड्याश्च केरलाश्चैव. The Pāṇḍyas and Keraḷas lived about the Mādura-Ramnad-Tinnevelly region and Malabar respectively.

62. Mk *ac*—गोलाङ्गुलास्तथैव च, *b*—गोलाङ्गूलास्तथैव च, *d*—चोलाः कुल्यास्तथैव च ; Vy, Bmd—चौल्याः कुल्यास्तथैव च ; Mts—चोलाः कुल्यास्तथैव च ; Vmn—चौडा कुल्याश्च राक्षस. For the reading गोलाङ्गुल which seems to be a later emendation, see *Bs*, 16, 3. The Colas lived about the Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts of the Madras Presidency.

63. Mk—शैलूषा मूषिकाश्चैव ; Vy, Bmd—सेतुका मूषिकाश्चैव ; Mts—सेतुकाः सूतिकाश्चैव ; Vmu—जानुका मूषिकादाश्च Setuka=people of Setubandha-Rāmeśvara. Mūṣika=probably the people living on the banks of the Musi now running by the town of Hyderabād (PH, p. 80).

64. Mk *abc*—कुसुमा नाम वासकाः, *d*—कुमारा वनवासकाः ; Vy *acde*—कुमना वनवासिकाः ; Bmd—कुनासा वानवासकाः ; Mts—कुपथा वाजिवासिकाः, *o* (v.l.)—कुपथा वाजिकाः शकाः, कुपथा वाजिकाशिकाः ; Vmn—कुमारादा महाशकाः ; Vy *b*—रुमना वनवासिकाः. The Vanavāsakas were the inhabitants of modern Banavasi in the North Kanara Dist. Kumāra=people of Cape Comorin ?

65. Mk, Vy, Bmd, Vmn *a*—महाराष्ट्रा माहिषकाः ; Mts *a*—नवराष्ट्रा माहिषकाः ; *bc*—नवराष्ट्रा माहिषिकाः ; Mk *d*, Vmn *b*—महाराष्ट्रा माहिषिकाः. Mahārāṣṭra=modern Marāṭhā country. Māhiṣaka=people of the ancient Mahiṣaviṣaya in Mysore or of Māhiṣmatī on the Narmadā.

66. Mk, Vy, Bmd, Mts, Vmn—कलिङ्गाश्चैव सर्व्वशः ; Mts *c* (v.l.)—कपिलाश्चैव सर्व्वशः The Kalinga country originally comprised the present Puri and Ganjam Districts and the adjoining regions.

67. Mk—आभीराः सहवैशिक्याः ; Vy *abe* (v.l.), Bmd—आभीराः सह-चैषीकाः ; Vy *cde*—अभीराः सहचेषीकाः ; Mts—कारूषाश्च सहैषीकाः, *c* (v.l.)—कावेराश्च सहोषीकैः ; Vmn—आभीराः सहवैसक्याः. These Abhīras were probably those whose coins and inscriptions have been discovered in Northern Mahārāṣṭra and the Konkan. Kāvera=people living on the Kāveri.

68. Mk *abc*—आढक्याः शवराश्च ये ; Mk *d*, Vy *b*—आटव्याः शवराश्च ये ; Vy *acde*, Bmd—आटव्याश्च वराश्च ये ; Mts—आटव्याः शबरास्तथा , Vmn—आरण्याः शबराश्च ये. Savara foresters=the Saoras of Ganjam and Vizagapatam.

पुलिन्दा विन्ध्यमूलीका(या)[69] विदर्भा दण्डकैः सह[70] ॥
[71]पौरिका मौलिका(मौलका ?)श्चैव[72] अश्मका भोगवर्द्धनाः[73]।
नै(ऋ?)षिकाः कुन्तला अन्ध्रा[74] उद्भिदा नलकालिकाः (०लूपाः ?)[75] ॥
दाक्षिणात्याश्च वै देशा[76] अपरान्तान् निबोधत[77] ॥

69. Mk *abc*—पुलिन्दा विन्ध्यमौलेयाः, *d*—पुलिन्दा विन्ध्यमालेयाः ; Vy *ace*, Bmd —पुलिन्दा विन्ध्यमूलीकाः ; Vy *ad*—पुलिन्द्रा विन्ध्यमूलीकाः ; Mts—पुलिन्दा विन्ध्यपुषिकाः ; Vmn—पुलिन्दा विन्ध्यशौलेयाः The reference is to the Pulindas of the Vindhya region.

70. Mk, Vy *bcde*, Mts *be*, Vmn *b*—वैदर्भा दण्डकैः सह ; Vy *a*, Bmd, Mts *a*—विदर्भा दण्डकैः सह ; Vmn *a*—वेदभो दण्डकैः सह The Prakritism in the form वेदभो is interesting to note. Vidarbha=modern Berar and the adjoining regions. Daṇḍaka is the old name of parts of the Maratha country including especially the Nasik Dist.

71. The following lines together with the first line of the next section are omitted in Mts.

72. Mk—पौरिका मौलिकाश्चैव ; Vy *a*—पौनिका मौलिकाश्चैव, *cde*—पानिका मौनिकाश्चैव, *b* recognises मूलिक only; Bmd—शौलिका मौलिकाश्चैव Paurika=people of Purī in the Konkan. Maulika—cf. Mūlaka, the district round Paithan on the Godavari.

73. Mk, Vy *ab*, Bmd, Vmn *b*—अश्मका भोगवर्द्धनाः ; Vy *cde*—अस्मका भोगवर्द्धनाः ; Vmn *a*—अलका भोगवर्द्धनाः Aśmaka was contiguous to Mūlaka and had its capital at Paudanya, identified by Raychaudhuri with Bodhan in the Hyderabad State. Bhogavardhana reminds us of Nāndivardhana and Nāgavardhana (Nagardhan in the Nāgpur Dist).

74. Mk *ac*—नैषिकाः कुन्तला अन्ध्राः, *b*—नैषिकाः कुन्तला अन्धाः *d*—नैषिकाः कुन्तला आन्ध्राः ; Vy *ace*—नैर्णिकाः कुन्तला अन्ध्राः, *b*—नैतिकाः कुन्तला अन्ध्राः ; *d*—नैर्णिकाः कुन्तला आन्ध्राः ; Bmd—मैन्दिकाः कुन्तला अन्ध्राः ; Vmn—नैमिकाः कुन्दला आन्ध्राः. Kuntala=people of the district round Banavasi in the North Kanara Dist. Andhra people lived in the Andhrāpatha about the mouths of the Kistna and the Godāvarī. Originally they appear to have spread over large parts of Central and Northern Deccan. For the Ṛṣikas on the Kistna, see *Sel. Ins.*, I, p. 198 n.

75. Mk—उद्भिदा वनदारकाः ; Vy *acde*, Bmd—उद्भिदा नलकालिकाः, *b*—उद्भिरा नलकालिकाः ; Vmn *a*—उच्छिदा नलकारकाः, *b*—उल्भिदा नलकारकाः । नलकालकाः=? नलकालूपाः=? The Nalas and Alupas. उद्भिद=? आभीर. The Ābhīras ruled in the northern part of Mahārāṣṭra and the Koṅkan. See note 67.

76. Mk—दाक्षिणात्यास्त्वमी देशाः ; Vy, Bmd—दाक्षिणात्याश्च वै देशाः. Vmn has rather freely—दाक्षिणात्या जनपदास्त्विमे शालकटांकट (*b*—०कटंकट ) Alb. wrongly recognises दाक्षिणात्य and वैदिश ( sic. वै देशाः ) as two *janapadas* of the South and refers to the following countries of the West as those belonging to the South.

77. Mk *abc*—अपरान्तान् निबोध में ; *d*—अपरांस्तान् निबोध मे ; Vy, Bmd—अपरांस्तान् निबोधत

## V

[78]शूर्पारकाः कोलवना[79] दुर्गास्तालीकटैः सह[80] ।
पुलेयाश्च सुरा(मुर ?)लाश्च[81] रूपसास्तामसैः सह[82] ॥
[83]तथा तु रमिनश्चैव[84] सर्वे चैव कारस्कराः[85] ।
नासिक्याद्याश्च ये चान्ये[86] येचैवोत्तरनर्मदाः[87] ॥

78. The following line is omitted in Mts.

79. Mk—सूर्यारकाः कालिबलाः ; Vy *acd*—शूर्पाकाराः कोलवनाः, *e*—सूर्पाकाराः कोलवनाः ; Bmd, Vy *b*—शूर्पारकाः कोलवनाः ; Vmn—शूर्पारका वारिधानाः Sūrpāraka = Sopara not far from Bombay.

80. Mk *abc*—दुर्गाश्वानीकटैः सह, *d*—दुर्गाश्वामीकटैः सह ; Vy *acde*—दुर्गाः कालीतकैः सह, *b*—दुर्गास्तिल्लीतकैः सह ; Bmd—दुर्गाः कालीकटैः सह ; Vmn—दुर्गास्तालीकटैः सह. The reading तालीकट is supported by *Bs*, XIV, 11 and Mbh, II, 31, 65 (where तालाकट is a mistake for तालीकट )

81. Mk—पुलिन्दाश्च सुमीनाश्च ; Vy *acde*, Bmd—पुलेयाश्च सुरालाश्च ; Vy *b*—पुलेयाश्च करालाश्च (?) ; Mts—कुलीयाश्च सिरालाश्च ; Vmn—पुलीयाश्वासिनीलाश्च. For a river called मुरला in which the अपरान्त elephants sported, see *Sel. Ins.*, I p. 453 n. The Murala people is known to have come into contact with Pratihāra Mahīpāla I according to Rājaśekhara's *Bālabhārata* or *Pacaṇḍapāṇḍava* (N.S. P. ed., I. 7) and with Kalacuri Karṇa according to the Bheraghat inscription (*E.I.*, II, p. 11). Paramāra Sindhurāja (c. 995-1010 A.D.) is represented in the *Navasāhasāṅkacarita* (X, 14-20) as having defeated the Muralas.

82. Mk—रूपपाः स्वापदैः सह ; Vy *acde*, Bmd—रूपसास्तापसैः सह ; Vmn—तापसास्तामसास्तथा ; Vy *b*—रूपकास्तामसैः सह

83. Vmn has for the following two lines—कारस्करास्तु भमिनो नासिकान्ताः सुनर्मदाः

84. Mk—तथा कुरुमिनश्चैव ; Vy *acde*, Bmd—तथा तु रसिताश्चैव ; Mts—तथा तैत्तिरिकाश्चैव ; Vy *b*—तथा तरूपणाश्चैव, *e* (v.l.)—तथा तु रमिनश्चैव

85. Mk—सर्वे चैव कठाक्षराः ; Vy *b*, Mts, Mk *c* (v.l.)—सर्वे कारस्करास्तथा ; Vy *acde*—सर्वे चैव परक्षराः, *e* (v.l.)—सर्वे चैव परस्कराः ; Bmd—सर्वे चैवापराक्षराः ; cf. Vmn—कारस्करास्तु भमिनः. Mk *d* has, after this, the following additional lines—कारस्करा लोहजङ्घा वाजेया राजभद्रकाः । तोसलाः कोसलाश्चैव त्रैपुरा वैदिशस्तथा ॥ तुषारास्तम्बुराश्चैव सर्वे चैव करस्कराः ॥ The second of the three lines is taken out of the following section. The Kāraskaras are known from Baudh. D.S. I, 2, 14—आरट्टान् कारस्करान् पुण्ड्रान् सौवीरान् वंगकलिंगान् प्राणूनानिति च गत्वा पुनस्तोमेन यजेत सर्वपृष्ठया वा ॥

86. Mk—नासिक्यावाश्च ये चान्ये ; Vy, Bmd—नासिक्याद्याश्च ये चान्ये ; Vy *e* (v.l.)—नासिकाद्याश्च ये चान्ये, नासिकाद्याश्च ये चान्ये ; Mts *a*—वासिकाश्चैव ये चान्ये, *bc*—बासिक्याश्चैव ये चान्ये

87. Mk, Vy *b*—ये चैवोत्तरनर्मदाः ; Bmd, Mts, Vy *cde* (v.l.)—ये चैवान्तरनर्मदाः ; Vy *ae*—ये वै चान्तरनर्मदाः

भरु(भृगु)कच्छाः स-माहेयाः[88] सह सारस्वतैरपि[89] ।
कच्छीयाश्च सुराष्ट्राश्च[90] आनर्त्ताश्चार्बुदैः सह[91] ॥
इत्येते अपरान्ताश्च[92] शृणुध्वं विन्ध्यवासिनः[93] ॥

## VI

[94]मलदाश्च कारूषाश्च[95] मेकलाश्चोत्कलैः सह[96] ।
उत्तमर्णा दशार्णाश्च[97] भोजाः किष्किन्धकैः सह[98] ॥

88. Mk—भीरुकच्छाः समाहेयाः ; Vy *acd*—भानुकच्छाः स-माहेयाः ; Bmd, Mts, Vy *e* (v.l.)—भारुकच्छाः समाहेयाः ; Vmn—दारुकच्छाः सुमाहेयाः ; Vy *be*—भानुकच्छ्राः समाहेयाः. The Prakritism in the form भारुकच्छ (Pali भरुकच्छ ) for the Sanskritic भृगुकच्छ is interesting to note. Bhṛgukaccha = Broach. Māheya = people of the Mahi valley.

89. Mk, Vmn, Vy *b*—सह सारस्वतैरपि ; Mts—सह सारस्वतैस्तथा, Vy *acde*, Bmd—सहसा शाश्वतैरपि Sārasvata = people of the Sarasvatī (Sarsuti) valley of the in the eastern Punjab or in Gujara (*AA*, p. 229).

90. Mk—काश्मीराश्च सुराष्ट्राश्च ; Vy, Bmd—कच्छीयाश्च सुराष्ट्राश्च ; Mts *a*—कच्छीकाश्चैव सौराष्ट्राः, *bc*—काच्छीकाश्चैव सौराष्ट्राः ; Vmn—वात्सीयाश्च सुराष्ट्राश्च Kacchīya = people of Cutch. Surāṣṭra = South Kathiawar.

91. Mk *acd*, Vmn—आवन्त्याश्चार्बुदैः सह, Mk *b*—अवन्त्याश्चार्बुदैः सह ; Vy *acde* (v.l.)—अनर्त्ताश्चार्बुदैः सह ; Bmd, Vy *e*—आनर्त्ताश्चार्बुदैः सह ; Mts—आनर्त्ता अर्बुदैः सहः ; Vy *b*—अनर्त्ता हुदुर्बुदैः (sic) सह Ānarta = district round Dvārakā. Arbuda = mod. Abu in Rajputana.

92. Mk, Vy *e* (v.l.)—इत्येते ह्यपरान्ताश्च ; Vy *acde*, Bmd—इत्येते सम्परीताश्च ; Mts—इत्येते अपरान्तास्तु. Vmn has rather freely—इत्येते पश्चिमामाशां स्थिता जानपदा जनाः

93. Mk *acd*—शृणु विन्ध्यनिवासिनः, *b*—शृणु विन्धनिवासिनः ; Vy *acde*, Bmd—शृणुध्वं विन्ध्यवासिनः ; Mts—शृणु ये विन्ध्यवासिनः

94. Vy *b* omits several lines and makes the *janapadas* mentioned in the following two sections as those belonging to the West. See note 76.

95. Mk *a*—सरजाश्च करुषाश्च, *bcd*—सरजाश्च करूषाश्च ; Vy *acde*, Bmd, Mts—मालवाश्च करूषाश्च ; Vmn—कारूषाश्चैकलव्याश्च ; Vy *b*—मलदाश्च करूषाश्च (note 50). The Mālavas (Malloi of the Greeks) lived on the lower Irāvati (Rāvī) in the Panjab in the fourth century B.C. Later they are found settled in Rajputana and ultimately they gave their name to modern Malawa in Central India. Kārūṣa, which is also called Bṛhadgṛha, is the same as the present Shahabad District of Bihar. The Maladas probably lived to the west of the Kārūṣas and to the east of Prayāga (Allahabad). Lama Tāranātha who locates a Mālava country near Prayāga seems to have confused the Maladas with the Mālavas of western India on the strength of erroneous Puranic passages quoted in the present note.

96. Mk—केरलाश्चोत्कलैः सह ; Vy *ae*—रोकलाश्चोत्कलैः सह ; Bmd, Mts, Vmn, Vy *bcd*—मेकलाश्चोत्कलैः सह. The name Mekala is still preserved in that of the present Maikal range which is the connecting link between the Vindhyas and the Satpuras and stretches from the Khairagarh State in C. P. to the Rewah State (*SIA*. p. 134). Utkala was the western fringe of the Midnapore District and the adjoining parts of Orissa. The Mekalas lived near the Amarkantak hills.

97. The following line is wrongly placed in section V in Mk *d*.

98. Mk, Bmd, Vmn, Vy *d*—उत्तमर्णा दशार्णाश्च ; Vy *ace*—उत्तमार्णा दशार्णाश्च,

[99]तोशलाः कोशलाश्चैव [100] त्रैपुरा वैदिशास्तथा[101] ।
तुम्रुरास्तुम्बुराश्चैव (तुम्बानास्तुम्बवनाश्च ?) [102] पटवो निषधैः सह[103] ॥

*b*—उत्तमर्णा बशार्णाश्च ; Mts—श्रौरण्ड्रामाषा दशार्णाश्च. Daśārṇa formed parts of modern East Malwa (cf. the river of the same name) and the adjoining regions. It was also known as Ākara and had its capital at Vidiśā.

99. Mk—भोज्याः किष्किन्धकैः सह ; Vy, Bmd, Mts—भोजाः किष्किन्धकैः सह ; Vmn—गोप्ता किकरवैः सह. For the Bhojas, see *PH*, p. 76 ff. The Kiṣkindhakas may be the people of Kekind, Jodhpur State (*INI*, Nos. 199. 208, 1009) or of the Ramayanic Kiṣkindhā identified with the Raichur area of Hyderabad and the adjoining regions (*SIA*, p. 102). In any case, *Vindhya* is used in a wide sense.

100. Mk, Vmn *b*—तोशलाः कोशलाश्चैव ; Vy *acde*--तोसला कोसलाश्चैव ; Bmd—तोसलाः कौशलाश्चैव ; Vmn *a*—तोशला शोकलाश्चैव ; Mts *ac*—स्तोशला कोसलाश्चैव, *b*—स्तोशला कौसलाश्चैव ; Vy *b*—recognises कोसल only. Both the names could be spelt either with the dental or with the palatal sibilant. Tosala was no doubt the district round the city of Tosalī (modern Dhauli, near Bhubaneswar in the Purī District, Orissa). In the early medieval period, the Tosala *janapada* is known to have been divided into Uttara-Tosala and Dakṣiṇa-Tosala. Kosala here is no doubt Dakṣiṇa-Kośala, identified with the modern Raipur-Bilaspur-Sambalpur region of the C. P. and Orissa. *PH*, pp 252, 452.

101. Mk *a*—तैपुरा वैदिशस्तथा, *bcd*—त्रैपुरा वैदिशस्तथा ; Vy—त्रैपुरा वैदिकास्तथा ; Bmd, Mts—त्रैपुरा वैदिशास्तथा ; Vmn—त्रैपुराः खेल्लिशास्तथा. The Traipuras were the people of Tripura or Tripurī, modern Tewar in the Jubbulpore District. The Vaidiśas were the people of Vidiśā, modern Besnagar in the Gwalior State.

102. Mk *abc*—तुम्बुरास्तुम्बुलाश्चैव, *d*—तुम्बरास्तुम्बुलाश्चैव ; Vy *acde*, Bmd—तुम्रुरास्तुम्बुराश्चैव ; Mts *a*—तुम्रुरास्तम्बराश्चैव, *bc*—तुम्रुवास्तुम्बराश्चैव ; Vmn—तुरगास्तुंबराश्चैव ; Vy *b*—थर्पुरास्तुम्बुराश्चैव. One of the names appears to be a mistake for तुम्बवन, modern Tumain in the Gwalior State. The other locality may be Tummāna (=Tumān), 45 miles north of Ratanpur in C. P.

103. Mk *a*—पटवो निषधैः सह, *bc*—पटवो नैषधैः सह, *d*—पटवी नैषधैः सह ; Vy *acde*, Bmd—षट्सुरा निषधैः सह ; Vy *e* (v.l.)—षट्सुराः नैषधैः सह ; Mts *ab*—पद्गमा निषधैः सह, *c*—पद्गमा नैषधैः सह ; Vmn *a*—वहेला निषधैः सह, *b*—वहेला नैषधैः सह ; Vy *b*—षत्तुमानाः पधैः सह. The Niṣadhas are associated with the Pāriyātra. They probably lived about Nalapura, modern Narwar in the Gwalior State.

[103a]अनूपास्तुण्डिकेराश्च[104] वीतिहोत्रा अवन्तयः[105] ।
एते जनपदाः सर्वे[106] विन्ध्यपृष्ठ-निवासिनः[107] ॥

## VII

अतो देशान् प्रवक्ष्यामि[108] पर्वताश्रयिणश्च ये[109] ।
निराहारा हंसमार्गाः [110] कुरवस्तङ्गणाः खसाः[111] ॥

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103a. The following four lines are omitted in Vy *b*.

104. Mk *abcd*—अन्नजास्तुष्टिकाराश्च, *c* (v.l.)—अनूपास्तुण्डिकेशाश्च ; Vy *acde*, Bmd, Vmn—अनूपास्तुण्डिकेराश्च ; Vy *e* (v.l.)—अणुपास्तुण्डिकेराश्च ; Mts—अरूपाः शौण्डिकेराश्च. Omitted in Vy *b*. Anūpa was on the Narmadā with the city of Māhiṣmatī (modern Māndhātā in the Nimār District, C. P.) as its capital. The Haihaya king Arjuna, son of Kṛtavīrya, ruled at Māhiṣmatī. Like the Bhojas, Vitihotras and Avantis mentioned in the section, the Tuṇḍikeras were a branch of the Haihayas. According to the Pūrāṇas (Mts, 43, 48-49; Vy, 94, 51-52; Bmh, 13, 203-04 ; Pdm, St. Kd., 12, 35-36; Hv, I, 33, 51-52), the Haihayas were subdivided into five clans, viz, Vitihotra (wrongly called वोरहोत्र in some texts), Bhoja, Avanti, Tuṇḍikera (called कुण्डिकेर, तौण्डिकेर and तुण्डकेर in some texts) and तालजङ्घ. It may be pointed out in this connection that Pargiter has (*AIS T*, p. 98, etc) wrongly found the name of a Haihaya clan (शार्यात) in the word सञ्जाताः, असंख्याताः or सुजाताः (wrongly read in some texts as शार्याताः, सुरताः. etc.). The Haihayas were themselves a branch of the Yādavas. See, e. g., Vsn, IV, ch. 11, section 1 ff.

105. Vy *acde*, Bmd—वीतिहोत्राह्यवन्तय ; Mk—वीरहोत्रा ह्यवन्तयः ; Mts—वीतिहोत्रा अवन्तयः ; Vmn—वीतिहोत्रास्त्ववन्तयः. Omitted in Vy *b*. The Avanti people lived in West Malwa.

106. Mk, Vy, Bmd—एते जनपदाः सर्वे ; Mts—एते जनपदाः ख्याताः Vmn has rather freely—सुकेशा विन्ध्यमूलस्थास्त्विमे जनपदा स्थि (*b*—स्मृ)ताः

107. Mk, Vy, Bmd, Mts—विन्ध्यपृष्ठनिवासिनः

108. Mk, Vy *acde*, Bmd, Mts—अतो देशान् प्रवक्ष्यामि ; Vmn—आद्यान् देशान् प्रवक्ष्यामः

109. Mk, Vy *acde*, Bmd, Mts—पर्वताश्रयिणश्च ये ; Vmn—पर्वताश्रयिणस्तु ये

110. Mk—नोहारा हंसमार्गाश्च ; Vy *acde*, Bmd—निगर्हरा हंसमार्गाः ; Mts—निराहाराः सर्वगाश्च ; Vmn *a*—निराहारं हंसमार्गाः, *b*—निराहारा हंसमार्गाः. The Haṃsamārgas of the Himalayan region are also known from another passage ; cf. List of Rivers. note 72 ; also note 40 above.

111. Mk—कुरवो गुर्गणाः खसाः ; Vy *acde*—क्षुपणास्तङ्गणाः खसाः, *e* (v.l.)—कुगपास्तङ्गणाः खसाः, क्षुपणास्तङ्गणास्त्रसाः, क्षुपणास्तङ्गणाः खसाः ; Bmd—कुपथास्तङ्गणाः खमाः ; Mts—कुपथा अपथास्तथा ; Vmn—कुपथास्तङ्गणाः खशाः. These Kurus are doubtless the celebrated Uttarakurus living in the Himalayan region. The

कर्णप्रावरणाश्चैव[112] हूणा दार्वाः स-हूहुकाः[113] ।
त्रिगर्त्ता मालवाश्चैव[114] किरातास्तामसैः (०स्तोमरैः ?) सह[115] ॥

## VIII

### Condensed List

Vsn, II, ch. 3, vv. 14-17; Krm, I, ch. 46 (47 in some texts), vv. 41-44; Bmh, 21, 15-17

[115a]तास्त्विमे कुरु-पाञ्चाला[116] मध्यदेशादयो जनाः[117] ।
पूर्वदेशादिकाश्चैव[118] कामरूपनिवासिनः[119] ॥

Tangaṇas and Khasas (identified with the modern Khakkas) lived about Kashmir. Mts, Vy and Bmd refer to a Himalayan locality called कुपथ or अपथ (cf. List of Rivers, Sec. X, n. 161).

112. Mk. कुन्तप्राबरणाश्चैव ; Vy *acde*—कुशप्रावरणाश्चैव ; Bmd, Vy *b*—कर्णप्रावरणाश्चैव ; Mts, Vmn, Vy *e* (v.l.)—कुथप्रावरणाश्चैव. Both कुथप्रावरण and कर्णप्रावरण situated in the Himalayan region are elsewhere mentioned in Mts, Vy and Bmd (cf. List of Rivers, section X, n. 166 and 175). Rām. IV, 40, 25 locates कर्णप्रावरण in the eastern direction, probably in the eastern Himalayas.

113. Mk *a*—उर्णा दार्वाः सकूलकाः ; *bcd*—ऊर्णा दार्वाः सकूलकाः ; Vy *acde*—हूणा दर्वाः सहूदकाः ; Bmd—हूणदर्वाः बहूदकाः ; Mts *a*—उर्णादर्वाः समुद्रकाः, *bc*—ऊर्णा दर्वाः समुद्रकाः ; Vmn—ऊर्णाः प्लुष्टाः सुहूहुकाः ; Vy *b*—हूणा दर्वाः सहूहकाः ; *e* (v.l.)—हूणा दर्वाः सुहूहुकाः, हूणा दर्वाः सहूहुकाः. For the Huṇas and Dārvas, see note 43 above. For the Hūhukas of the Himalayan region, see List of Rivers, note 72.

114. Mk *ac*, Vy—त्रिगर्त्ता मालवाश्चैव ; Bmd—त्रिगर्त्ता मालयाश्चैव ; Mts—त्रिगर्त्ता मण्डलाश्चैव. Vmn has rather freely—त्रिगर्त्ताश्च किराताश्च तोमराः शशिखाद्रिकाः. Mk *d*—त्रिगर्त्ता गालवाश्चैव. Trigarta=modern Jalandhar region. For the *Saptu-mālava* or seven localities called Mālava, See *PH*, p. 492 n. Mālava in our text may be the same as the country of that name identified with the "cis-Sutlej districts of the Panjab together with some Himalayan territory"

115. Mk, Vy *acde*, Bmd—किरातास्तामसैः सह ; Vy *b*-किरातास्तामरैः सह ; Mts—किराताश्चामरैः सह Kirātas=Himalayan mountaineers : cf. the name of modern Kiranti, etc. The reading तोमर (for तामर ) is supported by some passages ; cf. List of Rivers, section X, n. 171. See also n. 40 above.

115a. This later list is very carelessly compiled and probably had some mistakes even in the original draft.

116. Vsn, Krm—तास्त्विमे कुरुपाञ्चालाः ; Bmd—तास्त्विमे कुरुपञ्चाल०

117. Vsn, Krm Bmh—मध्यदेशादयो जनाः

118. Vsn, Krm, Bmh—पूर्वदेशादिकाश्चैव.

119. Vsn, Krm, Bmh—कामरूपनिवासिनः

पुण्ड्राः (पाण्ड्याः) कलिङ्गा मगधा (माहिषा)[120] दाक्षिणात्याश्च कृत्स्नशः [121] ।
तथापरान्ताः सौराष्ट्राः [122] शूद्राभीरास्तथार्बुदाः[123] ॥
मा(मे)रुका मालवाश्चैव [124]पारियात्रनिवासिनः[125] ।
सौवीराः सैन्धवा हूणाः [126] शाल्वाः शाकलवासिनः [127] ॥
मद्रारामा(द्रकारा?)स्तथाम्बष्ठाः [128] पारसीकादयस्तथा[129] ॥

Dines Chandra Sircar.

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120. Vsn, Krm—पुण्ड्राः कलिङ्गा मगधाः ; Bmh—पौण्ड्राः कलिङ्गा मगधाः

121. Vsn, Krm—दाक्षिणात्याश्च कृत्स्नशः ; Bmh—दाक्षिणात्याश्च सर्वशः

122. Vsn—तथापरान्ताः सौराष्ट्राः ; Bmh—तथापरान्त्याः सौराष्ट्राः ; Krm—तथापरान्ताः सौराष्ट्र॰

123. Vsn, Bmh, Krm *ab* (v.l.)—शूद्राभीरास्तथार्बुदाः ; Krm *bc*—शूद्राहीनास्तथार्बुदाः

124. Vsn—कारूषा मालवाश्चैव ; Krm *a*—मालका मालवाश्चैव, *b*—मालाका मलपाश्चैव, v.l.—मालका मलयाश्चैव *c*—मालका मलपाश्चैव ; Bmh—मारुका मालवाश्चैव

125. Vsn. Krm *a*—पारिपात्रनिवासिनः ; Krm *b*—परियात्रनिवासिनः ; Krm *c*, Bmh—पारियात्रनिवासिनः

126. Vsn, Krm—सौवीराः सैन्धवा हूणाः ; Krm *b* (v.l.)—सौवीराः सैन्धवाकूणाः, *c* (v.l)—सौवीराः सैन्धवाकृष्णाः ; Bmh—सोवीराः सैन्धवापह्नाः

127. Vsn, Bmh—शाल्वाः शाकलवासिनः ; Krm *a*—शाल्वाः कान्यनिवासिनः, *b*—माल्या बाल्यानिवासिनः, v.l., *c* (v.l.)—शाल्वाः कल्पनिवासिनः

128. Vsn, Bmh—मद्रारामास्तथाम्बष्ठाः ; Krm *a*—मद्रारामास्तथैवान्ध्राः, *bc*—माद्रारामास्तथैवान्ध्राः

129. Krm—पारसीकास्तथैव च ; Vsn, Bmh—पासीकादयस्तथा The *Pārasikas* (persians) are not mentioned in the bigger list or in any early work.

# REVIEWS

DIALOGUES OF THE BUDDHA By Rhys Davids, 2nd ed. Pāli Text Society, London.

The following, slightly shortened, is a Preface I wrote in the second edition of the second volume of the translation entitled by my husband "Dialogues of the Buddha," made by him, then by us jointly, for the Series *Sacred Books of the Buddhists*, from the first, (or Dīgha) Nikāya. This second edition I had only published a year before the present war began. And a solitary bungled bomb smashed into our reserve stocks stored at Messrs. Billing's of Guildford, practically consuming all. In this, as in other ways, have the former champions of 'Kultur' proved its foes. They used to be our best purchasers. As editor, and co-translator, I had written this preface to make clear certain reforms I deemed I had made on the first edition, as well as many others that needed making, but which for given reasons I had not made. It is a kindly act of sympathy with our tragic losses (I include those of the Pali Text Society) to permit me to restate these here. Much error (as well as much knowledge) has been disseminated by the first edition, and I would here again (as in my recent books) call attention thereto.

Does one but hold on long enough in this span of human wayfaring, one may be here to see even the translation of a Buddhist text sold out, with the gentle demand for it not yet exhausted. So has this work, after 28 years, attained to a second edition. By the process called 'off-set', emendations are difficult and costly. And there are no funds. Hence I have made only such as were most dsirable, leaving in much which I should have wished to express otherwise, both in my husband's work and in my own, were this a genuine 'new' edition.

A word first to make clear our partnership in both this and the third volume, the first being wholly his work (published 1899). He ceased from his labours here over 19 years ago, soon after completion of these "Dialogues". From the beginning of this century he undertook engrossing work as holding the new, the first chair in a British University for the comparative study of religion, a task, at the present stage of research, fitted for half a dozen men than for one. Concentration on work in any one religious tradition had become impossible. It was only when Estlin Carpenter suggested that I should join in airing the completion of the "Dialogues", that we both with good will started to do this. Of this second volume Rh.D. had already in 1881 published Suttantas XVI and XVII in *Sacred Books of the East*, XI. All the rest I translated, he revising my work, inserting many of the footnotes and contributing all the introductions save that to the Mahānidāna Suttanta, which is my work.

The remaining volume took another eleven years to issue. Funds had to be raised and our generous patron no longer sat on Siam's throne. My husband was ageing, his health waning, and the accursed war came down blighting the world and our happiness. Siam's later monarch however paid the printer, and the *Dialogues* achieved completion in 1921. Introduction to Suttantas XXXI—XXXIII I wrote, and all the translation.

In this edition it is mainly my own work that I have revised. Not a little in my partner's work needed revision, but there was not only expense, but the wish in me not to barge in on what was in a way 'classical'. Moreover his footnotes, where a rendering seemed to him second best, often guard the reader. In all this there is making of history in research it may be well to keep in view.

Here I will briefly notice certain prominent renderings I have left unaltered, and also three of vital importance which I have altered.

1. I have only altered Max-Müllerian transliteration (a system now generally discarded), where cerebrals were involved. To write *K* for *C*; *G* for *J*, etc. has proved, for the general reader, and the general writer too misleading to be left in. Further, I have let stand the circumflex for the long ā, and also the less correct crude form of *-i* for *-in*, e.g. in Vipassin, and the crude form of *-a* in Gotama, etc I never could share the partiality of some German and Asiatic scholars for the nominative in-o. Such a phrase as "he told Ānando" is too unpleasant a shock—as were one to say 'amo tu'

2 I have let stand the use of 'god' for *deva*, but I do not find either 'god' or 'angel' historically fitting. In early Buddhism (a a consequence of the accepted Immenence) Vedic gods *had become friendly mortals*, living, close by, given, in friendly good will, to talk with the 'man-who-saw,' and heard. Immanence had driven out, save for the many-folk, the notions of worship—offerings, prayer, ritual, intermediary. Nor do I like *devatā*, the abstract, as 'fairy''; this I have changed to 'being' or 'spirit.'

3. I have left in 'brethren' for *bhikkhu, bhikkhave*. Unwillingly, but see the footnote, p. 81. I have not the objection to 'monk' Rh.D. there shows, nor have I found Buddhists objecting. We should not, because of convenience and tradition, force in 'brethren'. The Pali for 'brother' could have been used, had it seemed meet; it never was.

4. I have left in his 'intoxications' and my 'intoxicants' for *āsavā*. We have no good word for spreading, absorbed liquid bane. 'Canker' is on the whole best, yet too dry. Drugs, taints, poisons have also served.[1]

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[1] But Cf. Rh. D.; footnote, p. 115.

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5. I have let *viññāṇa* be rendered by 'cognition' or 'consciousness,' albeit the older meaning: 'man-as-surviving,' or 'soul' is in the main truer. But not in all Suttas. We see, in *Majjhima* No. 38, how this older meaning of persisting principle, referred to as "speaker and experiencer" is being hounded out to be replaced by a meaning virtually identical with that of the other two mental phases: *saññā* and *vedanā*, as merely the mental outcrop of sensation. *Viññāṇa*, in the Indian tradition, could connote both, but we have no such Janus-word.

6 I have let 'rapture' in Jhāna stand for *samādhi* (lit. 'concentration),' although it goes too far, is too near Lord Chalmers's 'ecstasy,' which also goes too far. The only rapture about *samādhi* is the 'rapt' quality of hyper-attention. As 'rapture' it is too easily confused with *pīti*, or emotional rapture (which in *samādhi* had to be suppressed).[1]

7. I have let the usual wobbling in translation stand when it is *bhava* that has to be rendered. Thus (p. 161) the last two lines: "craving for future life...renewed existence...no more birth" show just a triple use of the one word *bhava*:—"then is the craving for becoming rooted out...that which leads to becoming is faded out, there is no more becoming." No one reading this gets any idea of the sinister change which had come over this word. No one unhelped would recognize it as the joyous word on p. 267, 30, when the king sends polite greeting: "Many good fortune (*bhava*) attend the honourable Jotipāla!" (The Commentary strongly supports this rendering.) The 'becoming' in original Buddhism is given as the reason why men needed Gotama's message, as one which could promote that 'good fortune' in the spiritual growth of the man, had come, in monasticism, to mean the dreaded persistence of life both as 'rebirth' and as 're-worlded'. However, the translator, with his triple variant for the one Pali word, gets there so far as the monastic outlook goes, and so I leave it.

8. Then there is the great word, of all words hardest fitly to translate: *Dhamma*. This is quite inaccurately rendered 'Truth.' Had the Buddhist speaker wished to say truth, he had three strong words at hand: *sacca, bhūta, tathatā*. But no one regrets more than I that we did not hammer out our renderings together more than we did. Till near his end I was too much the junior pupil, let alone that we were both akin in work, perhaps to the Sutta Nipāta rhinoceros: *eko care khaggavisāṇakappo.*

My own temporary view I somewhat guard in the footnote, (p. 29), by adducing the term Norm. But Dhamma wants a better word than what is a 'good average.' Gotama's many brahmin fellow workers will have had in mind the Upaniṣadic term *antaryāmin*, inner controller. Yet will this not have sufficed for Dhamma, object from the first of the Leader's avowed worship. This was more; it was inner incentive, urger, not merely restraining force. There was in Dhamma the push of conscience as well as its check. Hence possibly it is why *antaryāmin* did not get taken over by them, as for a while did *amata*.

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[1] Cf. p. 28; & i, p. 92 f.

But Dhamma had also got the wider, looser meaning of 'religion'; for this no other word was current. Take an instance from our volume III, p. 37: "What is this *dhamma* wherein you train your disciples, so that they win comfort and acknowledge inclination as the beginning of the training?"[3]

For us religion here fits better than any other term. If the reader will bear in mind this wider meaning of *dhamma*, and let 'Truth' convey this, Rh. D. will not have misled him. Anyway it is better than the rendering 'Law'.

Here a brief codicil. On p. 38 I have once more altered, in a formula, three epithets, usually applied to 'dhamma', and have let them apply, implicitly, as in the Pali, to the life of the 'wayfarer' (*tathāgata*). If 'dhamma' means 'religion', these epithets: "beginning, middle, end," have no fit place. Nor have they if we call 'dhamma' 'Truth'. Nor can the three fit the later meaning, now general among Southern Buddhists, of 'dhamma' as a code of teaching, for when this mission-charge was made to the first disciples, there was not yet any such code of oral teaching. Obviously, for me, the epithets apply to man's span of present life, here or elsewhere: "lovely at the beginning, middle, end."

9. A not unimportant matter is the leaving in, on p. 78ff., 'prosper' for growth, (*vuddhi*). In the text we find *vuddhi* opposed to 'decay' (*parihāni*). "Just growth is to be expected not decay." "Prosper" is not in itself incorrect, but for me it is vital to remember, that not only here, at the end of his long mission, but at its very start, the inspiring message ran: "Men are decaying; as learners of (this) *dhamma*, they will grow"—lit. 'become' (*bhavissanti*). The great Man-lover is here shown keeping faith with the message from the Unseen from first to last. By the literal rendering 'growth' the reader can see this, as with 'prosper' he will not.

This brings me to the three emendations I have made in our work, made because it is vital to an improved grasp of the teaching original Buddhism that they should replace our own pioneer renderings, through which that grasp has been and is still so crippled.

10. The first is on pp. 29-32. Here in translating I had docilely followed Oldenberg's rendering in *Vinaya Texts*, I (*S.B.E.*)—these

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[3] *Ajjhāsayaṃ ādibrahmacariyaṃ.* How is not as stronger word like our 'will' needed here!

pages being his work, not Rh. D.'s —and also K. E. Neuman's (p. 268 of his *Majjhima* translation), a rendering I repeated, alas! in *Kindred Sayings*, I, pp. 173ff., 1917. These scholars judged, that the word giving the better state for men who would hear Gotama teach meant just 'will be', not 'will become' or 'grow'. But this word 'will be, or become' is opposed to 'decaying', thus indicating, not mere future happening, but a causal process, an evolution, and hence, had we all been more discerning, we should have seen that *more was wanted* than just a 'will be'. We had before us contexts in both Upaniṣads and Piṭakas, where *bhavissanti* (and other *bhū-* inflections) clearly meant more than just a copula, or bare future state. The more pregnant meaning of 'will become' gives a hitherto buried consecutive force to the Hesitation scene and to its immediate sequel.

II. The second corrected context is no less important. It is on p. 108; a solemn, very emphatic parting charge. Rh. D.'s rendering is echoed by R. O. Franke's, which is yet more free. But that is not the worst. Both entirely ignore the religious import, *in Gotama's day*, of the word *attā* (*ātmā*), import by which the accepted teaching of Immanence brought into the word 'self', or 'spirit', Deity Itself. "Lamps.........refuge unto yourselves" may be good modern English tradition, but it was not Indian religious idiom of B.C. 500 And when our translators render similar compounds of *ātmā* in the Upaniṣads, their procedure is very different. Then it is 'lamp of the Self', 'refuge of the Self', or the like. Why not so here also?

Buddhist and lapsed Christian 'verts have lapped up this apparent call to be depending on the actual average self, quite overlooking, that, in the Pāli scriptures, the believer is usually told to take as refuge, not himself, not the two of the injunction: "Live as they that have the *attā* that have *dhamma*, as lamp, as refuge, and no other." but a *trinity* of lamps or refuges. And he cannot have it both ways. But I am here not mainly concerned with such inconsistencies. It is for me most vital, I repeat, if we are to grip rightly the Founder's teaching, that we reject the atheistic, or anti-theistic presentation of it which, true enough of degenerate Hīnayāna, is here thrust upon him who was the child of a teaching of Immanence, the child of an uplift in man—man as being, immanently and in germ, the Highest, the "Peak of the Immortal" (*t'amat'agge*)—an outlook unrivalled then and since in religious culture. I do not suppose we shall ever get the word 'self' to raise us religiously, as it raised India. We have seen grow up, since Johnson's Dictionary, the meaning in self, selfish, of egoism, egoistic. But long before, St. Catherine of Genoa had taught Immanence with a 'personal pronoun'. "My me is God...by a process of transformation." For her perhaps *ipse*, *stessa* did not mean the ugly

4 He left a record of which parts each had contributed.

thing they now do, yet she chose well. And I think that, if our translators had consistently used 'spirit', not 'self,' that rather absurd perversion of the pathetic farewell had never been made. But we started our Indian culture-research with grammar, and moved on into religion, taking with us the grammatical *ātmā*, when we, richer here than India, had the better alternative term 'spirit', India having but the one word.

12. The third alternative is of but one word, yet it is hardly less important than the others. On p. 33, where the Hesitation scene, true it may be of Gotama only, is told as true of earlier 'Buddhas', we see the Teacher-to-be, for whom doubt has now been dispelled, making glad response to the inspiring *deva* whom psychically he had seen and heard. So glad was this for early compilers that it has been lifted into poetry: Opened for man the portals of the Undying, etc.

Man, as learning that he was essentially, not just a being, but a 'becoming', was herein to be shown how he had a very guarantee to winning the 'immortal peak' of Becoming, the very culmination of life (cf. p. 109). This glorious destiny for man conceived as essentially divine reverberates through the early Upaniṣads and was echoed by the Sakyan missioners.

But for the after-men the vision faded out. Life was to be realized so far as man, his vision turned earthwards could see—not as an ever More and More, but as something to be got rid of. And for the virtually positive term *amata*, they substituted the actually negative term *nirvāṇa*. So we get the Commentary telling us that the "portals" are "nibbāna reckoned as *amata*" and the translators, alas! following it, choosing (possibly for aesthetic reasons) the more musical exegetic term, and turning from a word belonging, as that term did not, to the best religious teaching when 'Buddhism' was born. Late in time I have restored the 'undying' of the text, where 'nirvāṇa' had been put.

Senior and junior translators, we may, in this volume, leave an impression of 'self-lit, self-supported' confidence that is misleading. None have been more mindful of difficulties. And I regret that, in the transferring his earlier translations of Nos. XVI and XVII to this Series, place was not found for my husband's general preface, *S.B.E.*, or parts of it, for at the close are words of modesty and historical sagacity. Thus he wrote "with very great diffidence I yet maintain, that the discovery of early Buddhism...has turned the flank, so to speak, of most of the existing literature on Buddhism." After a lapse of sixty years I venture to think, that we can only now *go on to achieve* that flank-turning. Only now can we, with regard to the refrains and emphases in the Piṭakas, endorse with confidence the truth in his special and later Introduction, in this volume, to No. XVI

(p. 77). Namely, that these records may be considered authentic enough, but only in the one way in which any such record can be considered authentic, that is, as evidence of beliefs, of value *held at the date at which it was composed.*"

*Note.*—I regret that, in the foregoing, I did not list my reading of *t'amat' agge*: the 'peak of the Highest' as a fourth alteration. In preparing the volume for reprint, it had broken in on me that Buddhaghosa's interpretation (p. 109, footnote) was the worsened outlook of degenerate values. 'Darkness' *tama* here plays no part. The *t'* is the emphatic *ta*; the *agge* (for *aggo*) is Magadhese (lingering here and there in the Canon), and *amata* it was that the New Gospel professed to be revealing. The compound coupled with the pregnant *bhavissati*, as 'will become,' shows this very grand old man (yet ever young) closing his long work with the very words with which he had begun. But so far philologians have shaken sapient heads at me!*

C. A. F. Rhys Davids

**KAMBUJA-DESA**, or An Ancient Hindu Colony in Cambodia, by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M. A., Ph. D., F. R. A. S. B. Sir William Meyer Lectures 1942-43 delivered at the University of Madras. Published by the University of Madras, 1944.

Very few Indian scholars have so far directed their attention to the study of ancient Indian colonies in the East, although the history of Indian colonisation is a subject of absorbing interest. Dr. Majumdar may be regarded as a pioneer among the explorers in this neglected field. More than twenty years ago he planned a series of works on ancient Indian colonisation in the Far East. Three volumes dealing with Champā (Annam) and Suvarṇadvīpa (Malayasia) were published several years ago. The remaining two volumes dealing with Kambuja (Cambodia), Burma and Siam still await publication. The volume under review, however, gives us the results of Dr. Majumdar's studies so far as Kambuja is concerned. The treatment of the subject is of a general character, for the author rightly felt that minute discussions of controversial points would be out of place in a public lecture. He has, however, added some notes to explain the different view-points and referred to the source and authority of his statements. At the end of the volume there is a list of old Kambuja inscriptions, arranged chronologically as far as possible. On the whole, the volume is at once scholarly and readable. Dr. Majumdar has combined in his book qualities which are rarely found together in works on ancient Indian history.

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* This review was sent to us by the late Mrs. C.A.F. Rhys Davids a few months before she left this mortal world. The void created by her demise in the field of Buddhist scholarship is not likely to be filled up within a near future. Every bit of her writings on Buddhism and Pali literature is valuable and so we have published this paper of hers as it reached us without any emendation whatsoever.

The book begins with a general account of the rise of Indian colonies in Cambodia. Lecture II deals with the kingdom of Fu-nan, which became the most powerful Indian colony in that region and established its sway over the whole of Cambodia and even far beyond its frontier. Political history, social evolution as well as the development of art prove beyond doubt that Fu-nan was one of the most important centres from which Indian culture and civilisation radiated on all sides. Fu-nan was overthrown by the kingdom of Kambuja-deśa, which rose into importance in the sixth century A. D. and became a petty Protectorate of France in the nineteenth century A. D. Lecture III deals with the early history of this kingdom. Dr. Majumdar shows that it was not an isolated colony: it maintained regular contact with the motherland. Apart from other indications, the development of Indian art in Kambuja offers striking evidence of a continuous contact with India. Lecture IV deals with the history of Kambuja in the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries A. D. Lecture V traces the rise of Angkor. In Lecture VI we have a brief but fascinating account of the Kambuja empire. Jayavarman VII ruled over a vast empire which stretched from the Bay of Bengal to the China Sea. Dr. Majumdar's attention is not confined to political history alone. He refers to the development of art and throws out interesting suggestions, which are disappointing only on account of their brevity.

A. C. Banerjee

HINDU COLONIES IN THE FAR EAST, by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M. A., Ph. D. General Printers and Publishers Ltd., Calcutta, 1944.

This is a popular hand-book on the political and cultural history of the ancient Hindu colonies in Malay Peninsula, Java, Sumatra, Borneo, Bali, Champa, Kambuja, Burma and Siam. It is primarily meant for those under-graduate students of the University of Calcutta who take up Hindu colonisation as a subject for special study. We are sure that general readers who are interested in this subject will find this book quite readable. Dr. Majumdar has done a great service to the cause of historical studies by giving us a lucid summary of his conclusions.

A. C. Banerjee

# Select Contents of Oriental Journals

## **Bhāratiya Vidyā**, vol. VI, Nov.-Dec., 1945

JAGAN NATH.—*The Identification of Budhagupta with Purugupta.* The writer does not admit the validity of the arguments put forward in support of the contention that Purugupta was only another name of the Gupta Emperor Budhagupta.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR.—*Āma King of Kānyakubja.* The *Skandapurāṇa* contains an account of a class of *Brāhmaṇas* who received oppressive treatment at the hands of Kumārapāla, the Jain ruler of Moharpur, who was a vassal and son-in-law of King Āma of Kānyakubja. The *Prabhāvakacarita* also mentions Āma as a King of Kanauj. This Āma was evidently the son of Yaśovarman reigning in the 8th century. Two Jain works however represent Āma as a ruler of Gwalior. He seems therefore either to have transferred his capital from Kanauj to Gwalior or to have been ousted from the Kanauj region by another dynasty of rulers. In this respect, there are records showing that in the 8th century, Kings with their names ending in the word *-āyudha* had actually their capital at Kanauj.

G. V. DEVASTHALI.—*Amṛtānandatīrtha, the author of the Paramapadanirṇāyaka.* The Śaiva treatise *Paramapadanirṇāyaka* was composed in the first half of the 17th century by Amṛtānandatīrtha, and not by *Amṛtānanda-nātha,* at the command of Appaya Dīkṣita.

MORESWAR G. DIKSHIT.—*A Fragmentary Inscription at Lonad.* Ten lines of grant found at Lonad in the Thana district of the Bombay Presidency show that the grant was made in 1115 A.C. in the reign of the Śilāhāra ruler Aparāditya I.

S. P. SANGAR.—*Religious Crimes during the Reigns of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb.*

## **Brahmavidyā (Adyar Library Bulletin)**, vol. IX, pt. 4

P K. GODE.—*Studies in the History of Indian Cosmetics and Perfumery.* Extracts from the *Agnipurāṇa* dealing with the manufacture of cosmetics and perfumery and the allied topics in the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* of Varāhamihira have their parallels in the *Gandhasāra* of *Gaṅgādhara* who lived between 1200 and 1600 A.C.

K. MADHAVA KRISHNA SARMA.—*Vidyānātha.* Manuscripts of three works *Śāntisudhākara, Jyotpattisāra* and *Yantracintāmaṇi* written by Vidyānātha in the 17th century under the patronage of Anū-Pasiṃhadeva are now in the Anup Sanskrit Library of Bikaner. The first-named work is a voluminous digest on Śānti or propitiatory rites, the second is on mathematical astronomy dealing with sines, cosines etc., and the third is a Tantrik treatise on Yantras or mystic diagrams.

H. G. NARAHARI.—*On the Date of the Padavākyārthapañcikā of Ācārya Viśveśvara.* Viśveśvara's *Padavākyārthapañcikā*, a commentary on Śrī Harṣa's *Naiṣadhīyacarita* has been criticized in the *Jīvātu*, a Naiṣadha-commentary of Mallinātha, who lived in the 15th century.

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### **Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London**, vol. XI, part 3

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K. R. Potdar.—*Āprī Hymns in the Ṛgveda: A study and a Theory*. This instalment of the paper contains the evidence of the *Brāhmaṇas*, *Nirukta*, *Bṛhaddevatā*, *Sarvānukramaṇī* and *Avesta* on the nature of the Āprī hymns. It also discusses in detail the character and functions of the Āprī deities.

B. A. Chaugule.—Paümacaria and Padmapurāṇa. A comparison of a few passages of two Jain works,—the Prakrit *Paümacaria* of Vimala and the Sanskrit *Padmapurāṇa* of Raviṣeṇa, shows that the former is earlier than the latter which is known to have been composed towards the close of the 8th century.

P. K. Gode.—*Studies in the History of Indian Cosmetics and Perfumery: The Gandhasāra of Gaṅgādhara—an unknown Treatise on Gandhaśāstra and its Critical Analysis.*

A. M. Ghatage.—*Groups of Two Mutes in Middle Indo-Aryan*.

D. Y. Deshpande.—*Māyāvāda*. This is an attempt to show that the Vedāntic doctrine of *Māyā*, if considered from rational grounds, cannot account for the appearance of the world.

### **Modern Review**, October, 1945

Subodh Kumar Basu.—*Maurya Empire*. In this discussion regarding 'the extent and the nature of unity that India enjoyed under' Aśoka, the writer concludes 'the peoples of different parts were welded into one nation by a common code of social conduct, common principles of jurisprudence, common *lingua franca* in the shape of Purabi Prakrit with a uniform policy with regard to foreign relations, defence, and commerce, and above all a paternal Emperor at the head—the symbol of national unity'. But the Maurya unity was more federal than unitary with scope for local patriotism 'within the embrace of larger national patriotism.'

# A Few Opinions

**Prof. M. Winternitz.**—It is full of highly interesting and important matter, and keeps up a high standard of scholarship……… It promises to become a great help to all students of Indian History.

**Prof. H. Jacobi.**—I have perused your quarterly with great interest…….. I may have occasion to contribute to it now and then.

**Prof. J. Jolly** of Germany—I entertain a very high opinion of the Quarterly.

**Dr. E. J. Thomas.**—The Indian Historical Quarterly has always attracted me as being one of the most interesting Oriental Journals and I realise how much this depends on wise editorship. I think you are doing a great work in helping and stimulating oriental scholarship in India.

**Prof. Sylvain Levi.**—Congratulate you on the truly 'national' work you are doing for Mother India. Your Quarterly is the best evidence of the wonderful progress accomplished by Indian scholars in these last years, a progress that I followed with a sincere joy.

**Dr. Otto Strauss.**—I am very well pleased with your Journal and I hope it will be as interesting and successful as the bygone years.

**Mm. Dr. H. P. Sastri,** Hony. Member. Royal Asiatic Society: The Quarterly is becoming more and more useful, more and more learned. You deserve the thanks of the Indian public by focussing so many eminent writers in your Quarterly……… I am reading all Oriental Journals, and about India yours is the most informing.